THE

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OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

VOL. X JUNE 1948 PART I

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EDITOR

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D LITT.,

Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture

Benares Hindu University

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NOTES ON PUNCH-MARKED PURĀṆAS.

By T. G. Aravamuthan, M.A.B.L., Madras.

I. INTRODUCTION.

STUDY OF PUNCH-MARKED PURĀṆAS: PRESENT POSITION.

The study of the punch-marked series of Purāṇa coins is in a very unsatisfactory condition, especially in regard to classification, which is the starting point for fruitful investigations into the character and the history of a form of currency that has no parallel. In the early days of the study of these coins the novelty of the symbols on them attracted attention to the exclusion of other features of the series and only one variety of this species of coinage was, in effect, recognised.[1] A hoard found in the Bhir Mound at Taxila in 1912 was announced to be of an interesting variety, but for a long time it was given no further attention.[2] Another hoard, found at Golakhpur in 1917, is of a different variety and is strikingly distinct from the one which we know to be common, but the differences passed unnoticed.[3] It was claimed that in 1924-5 a new variety came to light at Kosam, but little was said about it that is useful.[4] Further varieties came to be brought together steadily about this time, but, though much written about, they have not been studied with discrimination.[5] The varieties of the symbols on punch-marked Purāṇas and the collocations in which they appear have been dwelt upon at length, the content of the symbols has been gone into in the light of late literature, some parallels to the symbols have been pointed out in Buddhist remains and in the antiquities discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and schemes of chronology have been propounded on surmises as to the dating of certain symbols and variations in weight standards. But no attempt has so far

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1. Theobald, *JASB.* (1890) 59: 181-268: 8-11, and *Ib.* (1901) 70 : 38-63.

2. Marshall, in *ASI. AR.* 1913: 41-2, 45 : 11 (1); Walsh, *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*, (1939), 2, 31-5 : 42-8.

3. Walsh, in *JBORS.* (1919) 5 : 16-72 : 1-4. He noticed that just a few pieces of the find did appear to be of a different type to the others' (*Ib.* 18) and that the marks on the pieces were 'all of a simple nature' (*Ib.* 33)., but he still stuck to the old classification by shapes (*Ib.* 23).

4. The 'double axe' type series: Chanda, in *ASIAR.*, 1925 : 131 : 32.

5. Durga Prasad was indefatigable; see his papers in *JASB. NS.* (1934) 30 : N5-59 : 1-32, and *Ib.* (1938) 3 : N61-90 : 6-11.

been made to study the varieties of the minting methods, of the fabric of the pieces, of the choice of subjects for the symbols or of the styles in which the symbols are executed, though these are as important as any of the other factors for an adequate appreciation of the character and the importance of this coinage. Needless to say, there has been no thought of inter-relating these various special features of this species of coinage. The efforts at a comparative study of the symbols has been uninformed by knowledge of the archæology of other ancient cultures, and even of the tradition which Buddhism inherited and embodied in its sculptured stones. The investigation of the origins of this species has been conditioned by inhibitions and prejudices.[1] The chronology has remained difficult as investigation has gone on false scents. Numerous pieces have been weighed meticulously in attempts at fixing the weight-standards, and inferring variations in them, but without setting a basis for the determination of the relationship of relevant factors, such as the length of time in which the coins were in circulation, the rapidity of the circulation, the extent of loss through corrosion and wear. Conclusions reached in such attempts being the bases of the systems of the classification now in the field, confusion has been the inevitable result.[2] The numismatist has to compromise with the archæologist who, in turn, has to square it up with the statistician and all three have to stand apologetic before the critical lay student who finds that their conclusions lack coherence.

NEW LINES OF APPROACH

It is obvious that other modes of approach are essential if we are to succeed in placing the study of this species of coinage on a sound basis. It is my object here to show how other modes of approach have to be essayed and what conclusions they promise to lead to.

My study of this class of coins became intensive in April 1932 when I had virtually to start on a Catalogue of the

1. But for a perusal of Coomaraswamy's paper on the foreign contacts of early Indian culture, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (1928) 4:—, which came to be known to me about 1935, I might myself have not been able to shake off such inhibitions, they having been due, in my case, to deep-seated doubts about the value of speculations on contacts, when archaeology has failed to draw up even the faintest of remnants of 'Aryan' culture in the western hinterlands of India.

2. Even Mr. Allan who noticed that the Golakhpur, the Paila and the Sahet Mahet hoards form distinct varieties,—or is it one distinct variety ?— has not set out the differentiae, perhaps, because coins from these finds are wanting in the British Museum: See his *BMCC. Ancient India* (1936), 70. Bhandarkar assigned cast coins to this punch-marked species: *ASI. AR*, 1914: 210, 212-3.

coins of this class preserved in the Madras Government Museum. Having had to study about 1500 pieces which had reached the Museum from about twenty finds in both the north and the south of the country, and having had to retouch, or revise, with my own pencil as many as 1600 sketches of the symbols on them, which I was getting prepared under my eye, my knowledge of this class of coins became intimate. The study of these coins led me on from enquiry and put me on my mettle; my interest in them became all absorbing in a little while. I started forthwith on the preparation of a *Corpus* of the early symbols of this country, to serve as a basis for the comparative study of the symbols on this species of coinage and those on other classes of currency and on other antiquities, but I had not to go far into the work to find that, while the symbols on these Purāṇas have no striking affiliations with those to be found in the earliest Buddhist and 'Hindu' antiquities, some of them have a close affinity to the countermarks on Persian sigloi.[1] It being also just then that a consolidated study of the objects brought up in the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro was published,[2] the strain of Harappa 'blood' in the symbols on the punch-marked, the cast and the die-struck Purāṇas became clear to me,[3] as to others."[4] I realised also that the punch-marked Purāṇa coinage is an isolated phenomenon, while the main body of Indian coinage is indigenous[5] and that Greek coinage derived a motif or two from the coinage native to the country.[6] The impetus of these discoveries took me on to an extensive study of the symbols current in the early cultures of other countries. I had been finding

1. Rapson, who had first pointed out the resemblance, in *JRAS*. 1895: 874-7, appears to have subsequently changed his mind: Hill, *BMCC. Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (1927), *138*. But a conviction of the soundness of his suggestion was borne in on me on a look at the illustrations given by Milne in *Num. Chr.* (1916) 4,16:

2. Marshall's *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* (1931) was just then getting on to the shelves of our libraries.

3. While others published their papers, I reserved my conclusions on these similarities and on other investigations of mine into the problems presented by these coins for inclusion in the *Catalogues* of the Madras Museum, they having been reached in the course of my work for that institution. When, however, a few of my results became more relevant to an exposition of the vestiges of the Harappa culture and the chances of an early publication of the *Catalogue* were receding, I set out a few of them in my book, *Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture* (1942), being *NIA*. (1941-2) 4.

4. Pran Nath, in *IHQ*, (1931)6: Sup, 11-4; Fabri, in *JRAS*. 1935: 307-18; Durga Prasad, in *JASB. NS*. (1934): N9: 28-30, published in May 1935.

5. My book, *Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture* (1942) 2-11, 32-6, being *NIA*. (1941-2) 4: 254-63, 322-6.

6. See my *Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture* (1942) 5-9, being *NIA* (1941-2) 4: 257-61.

it difficult to 'place' the pieces of the Golakhpur find, and the difficulty increased when about this time new varieties, such as the pieces named after Kośala, were published,[1] especially as no such coins were available to me for study. Fortunately, a batch of twenty-five pieces from a hoard of quite a novel class, found at Singavaram, reached my hands in November 1935 and it let in much light on a few of the points that had badly needed elucidation: it became possible to see fairly clearly the reasons for the differences that mark off the varieties,[2] and also to begin establishing the inter-relations of factors such as type, style, fabric and date. I experimented with punches and dies which I got made to test hypothesis suggested by this find. I was in for another run of luck when, almost immediately, I had an unexpected opportunity to study a few specimens of the new varieties.[3] I was now able to progress to tentative conclusions about important features of the punch-marked *purāṇas*. It had also become clear by then that these *purāṇas* 'bear symbols which seem likely to prove a very close contact of the peoples of India with those to the north-west,'[4] and I could not close my eyes to similarities 'from regions so far away as Susa, Babylon, Badari, Elizavetgrad and Knossos and so early as the period of pre-Dynastic Egypt.'[5] Further light becoming available about the connection between Persian sigloi and the punch-marked *purāṇas* and the 'bent-bar' coins,[6] I had to accept foreign origins,—at least, foreign

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1. Durga Prasad, in *JASB. NS.* (1934) 30 : N— 1-3.

2. On the Singavaram coins I read a paper before the Archaeological Society of South India in February 1936. It was expanded and presented to the International Numismatic Congress, London, June-July 1936, and published in its *Transactions* (1938), 393-400, though in an abridged form.

3. Durga Prasad, who was. in December 1935, on his way back from the Mysore session of the All-India Oriental Conference, called on me kindly at Madras and gave me a glimpse of a selection of the pieces in his collection.

4. Quoted from the 'Advance Proceedings' of the Archaeological Society of South India, containing a summary of a paper presented by me at its meeting in February 1936.

5. Quoted from the 'Advance Proceedings' of the same Society, which summarises a paper presented by me to it at the meeting of August 1936. One bit of further evidence of contact has been offered by me in a paper, 'A Link between India and Crete', in *Man* (1939) 39-186, pp. 190-2.

6. Hill's *BMCC. Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, (1927), with the illustrations in it of the symbols on Persian Sigloi (*Ib.*, *137*), came to my knowledge about October 1936, and I wrote to Mr. Allan of the British Museum, in December 1936, that I had come to believe that 'the punch-marked coins of India' had 'evolved in the midst of a culture acted upon by West Asiatic influences', but as I wished to verify the facts for myself before coming to a definite conclusion I requested him to send me casts of a few sigloi with marks similar to those on the punch-marked pieces. Early in January 1937 Mr. Allan had the kindness to send me the casts and he wrote that he had come to the same conclusion in his *BMCC. Ancient India* (1936), and the book became available to me in February 1937. Mr. Allan deals with the similarity to the symbols on the sigloi at p. 71 of that work.

contacts,—for both these series of coinages. I was also endeavouring to establish external chronological links by seeking to settle the dates when the Roman coins found in association with these pieces in some finds should have got buried.[1] In August-September 1939 I had occasion to study varieties of the punch-marked *purāṇas* in the hands of dealers and collectors, and in the Museum collections, at Mathura, Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad, Benares and Calcutta, One of the private collections,—that of Durga Prasad of Benares,—was varied and revealing[2] and the Allahabad Museum Collection[3] contained a few pieces from Kosam which were of much value. Shortly after my return to Madras, I had more punches and dies made and I experimented with them, taking special note of the variations on the composition of the coin-metal and the punch-or the die-material, the temperature of the flans, the configurations of the striking surfaces and the force and the direction of the blow on the striking piece, and it was a pleasure to find the conclusions I had been reaching on the minting technique confirmed by the experiments. Clues to chronology, though faint, became available with the publication, in 1940, of the details of the composition of the Taxila and Purnea hoards[4], and the narrowness of difference in respect of one factor between varieties that are substantially distinct in regard to other factors became obvious with the publication, in 1941, of a study of the Paila hoard.[5] Then came, in 1941, the Bodinaikkanur find, on a tentative study of which it was possible for me to narrow greatly the limits within which differences of view are permissible over the significance of the reverse marks.[6] Of late there have appeared further papers on this class of coinage, but they have brought out little that is of significance. I believe, therefore, that a comprehensive review of all the problems presented by

1. This is incorporated in my *Catalogue of Roman and Byzentine Coins in the Madras Museum*, for issuing which the Press is waiting for supplies of paper.

2. I studied it as Durga Prasad's guest at Benares.

3. Built up by another enthusiast, B. M. Vyas, who had the kindness to allow me to ransack the numerous bags in which the coins lay stored.

4. Bhattacharya, *A Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins from Purnea*, (1939), *3*, 1 : 7 ; *cf.* Walsh, in *JNSI*. (1942) 49 : 7, and Walsh, *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*, (1939), 35. The Bajaur hoard of 1942 would have been helpful had it but been possible to determine whether it came at least from the same stratum as the deposit of the Indo-Greek coins, both of which are said to have been 'found close together'. Haughton, in *JNSI*. (1942) 4 : 61, and Prayag-Dayal, in *JNSI*. (1943) 5 : 8.

5. Walsh, on the Paila hoard. in *JNSI*. (1940) 2 : 15-78 : 1-7. How far the striking of some of these pieces is a clue to chronology has yet to be decided on a special investigation of the phenomena of re-striking; the data have not so far been collected.

6. *JNSI*. (1944) 6 : 1-4.

these coins is bound to lead to the elucidation of many of the points on which we are without light.

The project of the Catalogue of the pieces in the Madras Museum, having had to be held over,[1] I need no longer refrain from publishing the results of these studies of mine. It shall, therefore, be my endeavour to present some of my conclusions in brief in the subsequent papers.

2. THE PUNCHES.

CHARACTERISTICS

The characteristic feature of the punch-marked coinage is that the coins of this species bear, both on the obverse and on the reverse, a number of marks which are curious for their number, variety, permutation, shape, style, evocation and disposition.

The marks on the obverse are irregular in shape. Each mark is ordinarily about a one-sixth of the flan in area. Many of the marks do not appear in full on any piece, especially those which, being designs answering to patterns, would cover more than the normal area of a mark, if the pattern were expressed in full. On some of the pieces there are no marks at all on the reverse, while in a few they may be as many as a dozen; ordinarily, they are two or three on a piece. They are very small, being about a one-fourth of the normal obverse-mark area, and are as irregular in space as those on the other face.

No order or system can be found in the 'orientation' or the sequence of the impress of the marks, whether on the obverse or on the reverse. The marks may be found impressed on any part of the flan, though, ordinarily, the obverse marks are to be found along the margins of the pieces. Few of the marks appear in the middle. No mark has a fixed direction; the 'hill' mark,—to cite an obvious example,—which is composed of an arch, the 'peak', surmounting two arches which, in their turn, surmount three arches, is found impressed with its peak pointed in every conceivable direction. The marks on each face occur in varying sequences on the

1. I may adduce other reasons also. One of them is that the punches and dies I had experimented with, the notes I had made of the experiments, the bulk of my notes on this species of coinage and the draft of the Introduction to the Museum *Catalogue* having been lost in the season of exodus from Madras in 1941-2 which resulted from the Japanese menace to the city, I should no longer tarry over at least a summary statement of my conclusions, lest even what I remember or recollect fade away with the lapse of time. Another reason is that my intellectual interests are shifting and I may not later on find either the leisure or the inclination to write on this subject, though it had kept me enthralled for ten years.

various pieces, even when the marks are the same. They are also capriciously inter-spaced and interspersed. Often, the marks cut across one another. The impress of each mark varies in depth and direction; in one piece the peak of the 'hill' may be more deeply impressd than the base, in another the right slope deeper than the left and, in a third, the base deeper than the peak, and so on, ad infinitum. This is ordinarily due to the punch having been held in different degrees of slant on different flans or to different punches having been differently applied to the same flan. It is, thus, clear that the marks on both the faces were impressed by separate punches struck one after another, that the punches were not assembled into grouped units,—that is, dies, for striking, and that the several marks had not been engraved together in one die that could cover the whole of the flan of the coin.

That the striking of these pieces is with punches, and not dies, accounts for some of the characteristics of this species of coinage. We shall here confine ourselves to an elucidation of the types of punches with which the marks were impressed.

Every mark on a punch-marked Purāṇa, whether on the obverse or on the reverse, lies in an incuse—a stamped-in depression,—all its own which, running round and isolating it from the rest of the coin-face, invests it with individuality. The differentiation of the several parts or limbs of the mark is effected by similar depressions between the parts to be marked off. It is truer to say that each limb of a mark is isolated from the plan by stamping a depression along the limb and that these depressions running together serve as incuse for the mark. Thus, each mark stands out in relief from an incuse that has cut down into the flan to an appreciably lower plane. Rarely, a mark, such as the 'sun', secures sufficient individuality when the divergent 'rays' are marked off by depressions between rays and rays: in such cases, an incuse is not run round the mark. Thus the mark is ordinarily produced by its immediate environs on the coin-face and the interestices between its several parts being beaten down into a lower plane with a punch. There are as many incuses in a piece as there are marks in it. Every punch used in the manufacture of these pieces is, therefore, a metal stick with a flat end in which, depressions being carved so as to differentiate the various limbs of the mark and linked together so as to encompass the whole of the mark, a series of ridges stand out answering to what in the flan are the incuse and the differentiating depressions. When the punch so engraved is applied to the flan and is struck with a

hammer, the ridges cut into the flan and produce in it depressions to correspond, so that, the outlines of the several parts of the mark and its periphery being defined in the flan, the mark stands evoked as a unit. The ridges are so high that all the rest of the punch beyond them does not come into contact with the flan : the 'shoulder' of the punch is low.

This looks simple and conclusive, but it is this apparent simplicity that has blinded us to important features that otherwise would have attracted attention. While the inner line of the incuse serves to give definition to those details of the mark that occur along its periphery, and, so, adheres strictly to the outlines of those details, the purpose of the outer line in merely to give the incuse an appreciable width and, so, it is freer and more cursive. The incuse may faithfully follow the outlines of the symbol and be no more than a thin line in width; it may not be quite continuous; it may widen into a channel, narrow but not thin, following closely the outline of the mark but not slavishly; it may grow into a freer depression answering roughly to the general shape of the mark while not reproducing that shape in an enlarged form; or, its outer line may assume a regular or a geometrical shape, such as that of a circle or an oval or a square, departing substantially from the shape of the mark. Indeed, these are not true incuses, for they serve merely to mark off the boundaries of the symbols. The punch may leave unaffected the bits of metal not caught within its ridges so that the mark is on the same plane as the rest of the coin; the punch may mould the mark up into various gradations of relief, raising it from the incuse in a continuous series of planes and yet the highest of the planes may not be above the plane of the rest of the flan, reproducing, thus, what in sculpture is known as sunk relief; or, it may mould the mark into relief so high that portions of it rise above the level of the flan around.

These are variations from the normal which appreciably affect both the appearance of the marks and the appearance of the pieces. These deviations are found to correspond to differences in subject, fabric, style and age and, even, metallio composition, as we shall see by and by.

FAMILIAR VARIETY

The one variety of these coins that is found all over the country and in the largest numbers, which we may call the familiar variety, consists of pieces the characteristics of which are well marked. The pieces are of medium thickness, though this thickness is itself susceptible of differentiation into

two grades. The typical incuse of a mark, obverse or reverse, is narrow in width but is wider than a mere line: it is a narrow canal. It follows closely the outlines of the mark. But, occasionally, the outer line, in an urge to freedom, turns into an oval or a circle, but, on this variety, this is no more than an exception; even so, the oval or circle clings fairly closely to the outlines of the mark. The incuses and other similar depressions and, so, the marks are crisply clear, except when the cutting of the ridges in the punches has been indifferent or the striking has been poor. Those portions of a flan which, lying within an incuse and defined by the differentiating depressions, go to make up a mark are quite flat and free from relief of every degree and kind. All areas of the flan,—those bearing the marks and those remaining plain or bearing other marks,—are on the same level, except for the punch-struck depressions. There are only two planes in the coins,—the plane of the marks and the plane of the incuses [**Pl. I, 1**]. This feature may be elucidated through an example. In a representation of an elephant in profile in a piece of sculpture executed in *alto relievo*, where every gradation of depth and relief is faithfully reproduced, the tail will be in the lowest possible grade of relief, the trunk will be in relief of just a higher grade, the tusk nearer the onlooker will be in a yet higher grade of relief and the torso will be in a very high grade of relief. But, in the representation of the animal in these coins these differences in the grades of relief are deliberately eliminated: all relief is flattened out into one plane, which is the plane of the surface of the flan: tail, tusks, trunk and torso are all in one plane. The only other plane is that of the incuse from which the mark is taken to stand up. It follows, therefore, that if the eye of the elephant is to be indicated, it can be shown only as a depression and that the depression must be of the same depth as the incuse.

It is clear that a punch employed in producing this variety of pieces must have been a stick of metal with an absolutely flat end-face, that the punch-cutter having drawn on the face the outlines of the mark, or pattern, and of its incuse, cut away the metal from the areas lying beyond what answers to the incuse and also removed the metal from between the incuse and the mark and from between the various limbs of the mark and that he scooped so deep and so straight that the ridges which emerged stood high, rising vertically from a base so low as never to touch the flan. Such a punch cuts sharply into the flan, producing only a second plane,—that of the base of the depressions,—in addition to that of the face of the flan; it refrains altogether from

forcing the limbs of the mark into continuous sequences of intermediate planes. In other words, the marks are not forced into moulded relief.

The punch may not always be held quite vertically when the hammer descends on it and, so, it may cut into the flan at a slight angle or in a light curve, notwithstanding that the cutting ridges in the punch are steep and high. One must, therefore, be on the guard against drawing inferences about the punches from marks, the outlines of which are not crisp. It is essential to be able to differentiate features due to bad inking from those due to the distinctive characteristics of the punches.

SINGAVARAM VARIETIES

Very different from this familiar variety are the pieces of the Singavaram hoard[1] [Pl. I. 11-14]. The lines of the incuses of both obverse and reverse marks on the majority of the pieces [Fig. 1 : 10] run so free that they generally become ovals or even, circles. The marks on both faces stand up in relief from the sunk incuses, but the relief is of the type in which the marks are moulded into varying series of planes. As the relief does not in most of such pieces, rise above the level of the flans, it is obvious that they are struck on the principle of sunk relief.

On some of the pieces, however, portions of the obverse marks are thrown up into a relief that protrudes above the plane of the flans [Pl I. 12-13]. In these pieces the impact of the punch on the obverse of the flan proves all too inadequate to secure such high relief, for the pieces are too thin for a mere punch to evoke high relief in them. So the device, has had to be adopted of pushing up the metal of the flan from behind so that the flan rises with the relief of the mark and follows, practically, the contours of that relief. This necessitates ensuring the presence of a plug or other well defined projection in the anvil to push the metal up at the striking and the exercise of at least some manual dexterity by the man who, feeding the flans on to the anvil, has to hold the punch on the flans so accurately as to ensure that the projection in the anvil and the answering depression in the punch correspond and produce the needed relief when the hammer descends on the head of the punch. A rudimentary form of striking with the double die may have been adopted to secure this effect accurately and uniformly.[2]

1. Aravamuthan, in *Trans. Internation. Mum-Congress*, 1936 : 393-400.

2. The first coin in the lower row in Fig. 1, in Aravamuthan, *op. cit.*, p. 365, holding the book with bottom margin up, is an example.

We have just a few pieces also in each of which we have two marks pushed up from behind in very high relief [Pl. I. 3]. But, as the two marks and therefore, the depressions on the reverse, do not appear always in the same relative positions, it is unnecessary to assume that the anvil bore two plugs and that two punches were coupled together: each of the two marks was probably struck on a different anvil.

In just a few pieces of this hoard [Pl. I. 14] which are small and thin, the only mark which each piece bears is struck in respousse.[1] Their dish-like appearance and their suitability for use as seals suggest that they may not be coins. The low rim, however, being no substitute for the handle that a seal requires, may be taken to have been provided for protecting from wear the mark struck in relief on a piece so thin and tiny. So, these pieces may have really been coins. Though the technique of repousse is different from that of the punch or the die, the result yielded is similar to that of moulded relief; the symbol stands up in continuous gradations of relief from the incuse, the metal of the flan being worked up, —or struck up,—from the reverse so that almost every plane on the obverse has its answering plane on the reverse. The only specimens known so far are these pieces, but they exemplify repousse work so well that they may be treated as typical of this class of *purāṇas*.

The use of punches or dies is not necessary in repousse work. It is conceivable that the repousse effect could be achieved with a single punch or die, for, if the flan is placed on a pad of leather, tough but not too stiff, and a die bearing the symbol in relief, is placed on the flan and is struck a sharp blow on the head, the flan would present the mark in relief on the side lying on the pad, but the rim, which serves for an edge, would, however, be thrown up towards the hammer. On the Singavaram specimens, however, the rim takes the very direction that the relief does. Moreover, the small width of the specimens from Singavaram, the delicacy of the workmanship and the pieces being now known to be more numerous than the three found in the small portion of the hoard that first came under examination seem to rule out the hypothesis that dies or punches were not used in their manufacture. If a double-die is employed, the lower die having a raised edge all round and the upper die falling losely into it but not fitting it too nicely, the flan will rise between the two dies in a rim when the blow of the hammer descends on the upper die and will take the direction of the relief

1. Aravamuthan, *op. cit.*, 397-8.

of the mark. It may be that the two dies should be coupled in the correct position relatively to each other by some contrivance such as the hinging them together or, more probably, the making the upper die slide into the lower.

INTERMEDIATE VARIETIES

Intermediate between the extremes of the familiar variety and the Singavaram varieties are a few other varieties in which there are odd combinations of variations in the widths of the incuses and in the degrees of relief of the marks.

PAILA VARIETIES

The main feature of the pieces of the Paila hoard[1] is that sometimes the incuses and interstitial depressions are almost as clinging and as sharp as in the familiar variety, but sometimes they are much freer in their courses and less sharp in the outlines, so that these incuses and depressions are more in evidence.[2] [**Pl. I. 2-4, 9**]. The latter feature is the result of the ridges in the punches being carved somewhat wider in the face than in the punches for the familiar variety and by the ridge-walls being cut, not perpendicular, but with slopes more or less pronounced. Thus, we have a suggestion of moulded relief in the execution of some of the marks. Reverse marks are not in relief,—whether the relief be plain or moulded,—but are in intaglio, but as this is a solitary find of this species of coinage bearing intaglio marks, it is prudent to refrain from accepting the intaglio mark as a characteristic of a variety of the punch-marked species. Perhaps, these pieces had sojourned in an area where the incuse technique was in fashion—in all probability,—in other varieties of coinage.

A LUCKNOW VARIETY

To a different variety belongs a set of pieces, of unknown provenance, in Durga Prasad's cabinet, which he found to occur in two denominations and in at least three different types.[3]

The heavier type, of which not more than one piece

1. Walsh, in *JNSI* (1940) 2 : 15-78 : 1-7. The observations that follow are based on the plates which, unfortunately, are too few, and on a piece in Durga Prasad's cabinet identical with the one illustrated by Walsh. *Ib.*, pl. 6 : 23.

2. For instance, see Marks 1 and 5 on Coin 26 and Mark 1 on Coin 31. on Pl. 5, and Marks 1 and 2*a* on Coin 20, Mark 1 on Coin 23 and Mark 8 on Coin 24, on pl. 6.

3. Durga Prasad, in *JASB. NS.* (1934) 30 : N 13 : 7.

was known, bears marks only on the obverse and these marks are of apparently two sizes. One of the larger marks is much like a five-petalled lotus [fig. 1: 10] and another of them, not so clear, is made up of six pellets surrounding a slightly larger pellet. The smaller ones include the 'sun in two or three forms and a quadri-partite square.

Where the incuses are not faint, they are found to be narrow, but without the aptness to follow even minor breaks in the outlines of the marks. The lotus mark is an excellent example of modelled relief ; each part of it is modelled fairly high but no part of it rises above the level of the flan. Similar relief is not unmistakeably to be percieved in the other marks, except it be that each member of a mark betrays a very faint convexity along its edges. The lighter type of pieces does not differ materially in the features we are here concerned with.[1]

GOLAKHPUR VARIETIES

The Golakhpur hoard presents a variety differing appreciably from the familiar one.[2] The depressions around the marks on both faces and in between their limbs or parts are not quite so narrow nor so closely adherent to their outlines : indeed, the depressions are quite prominent features of the pieces, as in some of those from Paila. The limbs of a few obverse marks on some pieces are very thin, especially when they are straight lines, becoming almost sharp-edged ridges, formed by the meeting of two inclines of metal rising from the depressions on either side ;[3] in this they differ from the execution of similar marks in the Paila pieces. On the generality of the pieces [Pl. I. 5-7], the outer margins of the incuses on both faces are not sharp ; they are less sharp than in any of the pieces from Paila. The flan slopes into the incuse and the limbs of the marks rise from the incuse or interestitial depressions, in faintly convex curves, producing the effect of a simple type of the sunk relief. The curvatures of the fall of the flan into the incuse and of the rise of the mark from the incuse are so

1. I have a plaster cast of one of them, taken from a coin in Durga Prasad's cabinet. It bears just the same lotus mark as the larger piece and also one of the smaller symbols on the obverse. See Durga Prasad, in *JASB. NS.* (1934) 30 : N. 13.

2. Walsh, in *JBORS.* (1919) 5 : 16-72 : 1-4. The observations below are based only on a study of the illustrations given by Walsh, and of two pieces in Durga Prasad's cabinet which he attributed to Bhabhua, in Saharanpur Dt., United Provinces, but which are of identical fabric with the Golakhpur pieces.

3 Compare, for instance, the pentagram (Mark) on these pieces with the similar mark (Mark 5) on the pieces of the Paila hoard.

poor that in the larger marks, they pass unnoticed, but, in the smaller ones, they are clear to even the untrained eye in the circular discs and the pellets.[1]

An additional feature appears to be present in a few of these coins, though we may speak with confidence about only one of them. One of the obverse marks, which is a composite of a largish disc and six pellets[11], is free of all relief in the disc, ordinarily, though the pellets are occasionally in moulded relief. In one of the coins, however, the disc of the mark presents a surface that is decidedly convex and, on turning the coin over, we find a depression in the flan around the marks on both faces and in between their limbs or parts are not quite so narrow nor so closely adherent to their outlines ; indeed, the depressions are quite prominent features of the pieces, as in those from Paila. The limbs of a few obverse marks on some pieces are very thin, especially when they are straight lines, becoming almost sharp-edged ridges formed by the meeting of two inclines of metal rising from the depressions on either side[3] : in this they differ from those of Paila. On the generality of the pieces, the outer margins of the incuses on both faces are not sharp, and the limbs of the marks rise, from the incuses or interestitial depressions, not perpendicular, but in faintly convex curves, so that the mark emerges in a simple type of the sunk-relief. The curvatures along the margins of these marks and of these incuses and depressions are so poor that in the larger marks they pass unnoticed, but in the smaller ones they are clear, to even the untrained eye, in the circular discs and the pellets.[4] The punches for these coins, whether for the obverse or for the reverse marks, differ from those for the Paila variety in an important feature. The walls of the ridges in the punches slope or curve more markedly, so that when the ridges bite into the flans, the bits of coin-metal which are caught within the pronounced inclines or curvatures in the punches are moulded into answering inclines or curves equally pronounced, and so the margins of marks and the incuses lack sharpness.

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1. Walsh *op. cit.*, Coins 1, 5, 9, 11, 23, Mark 3 : Coin 72, Marks 1, 7 ; Coins 93, 94, Mark 41 ; Coin 41 ; Coin 86, Mark 66.

2. Walsh, *op. cit.*, Mark 3.

3. Walsh, *op. cit.*, Coin 23.

4. A similar depression is noticeable in Walsh, *op. cit.*, Coin 40. On my seeking detailed information about those coins in the hoard which show depressions in the reverse, and protuberances on the obverse to correspond, pointing to Walsh's illustrations of Coin 23 as an instance, Mr. A. C. Ghosh, the Officiating Curator of the Patna Museum, where the coins are preserved, replied on 13-12-1947, that the illustration 'gives a true representation of the coin', and added : 'as regards other observations it is better if you could examine the hoard personally and satisfy your doubts.'

A 'KOSALA' VARIETY

A batch of thirteen 'unusually big coins', of unknown provenance, in the Lucknow Museum cabinet, exhibits features that are not a little interesting. Though the obverse marks, four in each piece, are not quite clear, they having suffered through the battering they have been subjected to by the striking of a large number of marks on the reverse, we are able to make out clearly the main features of those marks.[1] The incuses of the obverses are thin lines,—not the narrow channels we find in the familiar variety,—and they are frequently incomplete, leaving the limbs of the marks undifferentiated, in places, from the flan. The marks are assembled very closely but they overlap so rarely that special care must have been taken in the punching [Pl. I. 8]. The marks on the obverse are free from modelled relief, except rarely. A curve or a pellet or a disc, being a component of one or other of the mark, is sometimes seen with a convexity which is noticeable, though not marked. It looks as if two of the discs of a mark, were intended to rise a trifle higher than the rest of the mark and, so, higher than the rest of the flan. Indeed, it is more than probable that the comparatively high relief of these discs was secured by the device of pushing up the metal from behind the disc : that this process is adopted is indisputable in one of the pieces,—a cup-like depression occurring in the reverse just behind the disc in the obverse,[2] and is only a little less probable in the other piece.[3] The reverse marks are, ordinarily, in modelled relief standing up from free incuses.

A MATHURA VARIETY

A set of pieces from Mathura, again in Durga-Prasad's cabinet, belongs to a different class altogether.[4] The marks on the obverse are all flat in every part and limb; not the least trace of modelled relief is to be found in them.[5]

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1. Durga Prasad, in *JASB. NS.* (1934) 30 : N 9-12 : 1-3. The book has to be held with the right margin up if these three half-tone illustrations are to be useful.

2. Coin 4, the corresponding depression in the reverse being seen hemmed in by the reverse marks 6, 8, 9.

3. Coin 11 ; Mark 3 ; the answering cup being evidently caught within reverse mark 4.

4. Durga Prasad, in *JASB. NS.* (1934) 30: N9: 31. What I know of this variety being derived from the study of the illustrations of one of these pieces in the above paper and of the only other piece of this kind which was in Durga Prasad s Cabinet at the time of my visit, I may not be positive, nor may I generalise.

5. This is so, notwithstanding that the illustration referred to above suggests otherwise.

Part of the incuse of one mark being part of the incuse of another, it is difficult to isolate the incuse of any one of the four marks on the obverse. Neither the marks, nor the incuses cut one another, nor are they to be found in different planes. No portion of the obverse of the flan can be found that is not occupied either by mark or by incuse. These features being difficult to ensure when the striking is with punches, it may not be improbable that the striking of these pieces was with dies each of which, covering the whole of the flan, bore the four marks out in a fixed sequence and so closely that every bit of the flan was so well utilised, for mark or incuse, that the individuality of the incuses was obliterated. If this view is probable, these pieces may not be taken to be of the punch-marked species. Their affinity is with the Mathura pieces just referred to, though the unmitigated flatness of the components of the obverse marks is a strong link with the punch-marked Purāṇas of the familiar variety.

DOES THE BAIRAT HOARD CONTAIN A POST MAURYAN PUNCH-MARKED COIN ?

By E. H. C. Walsh, Edinburgh.

In Vol. VIII p. 24, of this Journal Mr. P. L. Gupta has described the eight silver punch-marked coins included in the hoard found at Bairat in Jaipur State, about 52 miles north-east of its capital. The hoard is of particular interest as it also contains 25 Greek and Indo-Bactrian coins which range from 140 B. C. to 40 A.D. ; it is thus the latest dateable time at which punch-marked coins have been found. Mr. Gupta notes that "The Greek coins of this hoard included one coin of Heliocles (*circa* 140 B. C.) a son of Eucratides, and the last king of Bactria; one of Indo-Greek king Apollodotos; 16 of Menander; one of Antialkidas, and 6 of Hermaios (20-40 A.D.)"

Mr. Gupta records the symbols on each of the punch-marked coins, which are illustrated on Plate IIB of the above article, and finds that one of them (coin No. 1) is pre-Mauryan, six are Mauryan and considers that one coin (coin No. 6) is definitely post-Mauryan, and not either pre-Mauryan or Mauryan. Its date of issue or currency, he says, may be assigned with some certitude with the help of the associated Greek coins; he places the coin in the latter half of the 1st century B. C.

There can be no doubt, however, that this coin is also Mauryan. Mr. Gupta gives the five marks reproduced below as the Marks on the coin, which he notes as being in a fresh mint condition.

There are 122 specimens of this coin in the Patraha Hoard (Class II Group V vars , a, c, and e). Fifty of them (var. a) bear the Mauryan Mark of the Peacock-on-a-Hill as the sole Mark on the reverse. Twenty-eight, (var. c), bear the "small Caduceus", another common Mauryan Mark on the reverse, as in the case of the Bairat coin No. 6, and the remaining 24 (var. e) bear on the reverse the mark consisting of a solid knob surrounded by four taurines, which is another common reverse mark on Mauryan coins.

The hoard, therefore, does not show that any Punch-marked coins were issued after the termination of the Mauryan Empire in C. 178 B. C.

The fact of coin No. 6 being in mint condition does not show that it was a newly issued coin at the date of even the earliest of the Greek coins, but only that it was in mint condition at the time that it was put into the hoard, which may have been at a considerably earlier date. The evidence of several large hoards of punch marked coins, which contain coins of widely different dates, varying, in cases to some hundreds of years interval, appears to suggest that those hoards were of the nature of a family bank into which coins were deposited at various dates, and money was taken out from it as it was required to spend.

Mr. Gupta does not mention any other coins being in the hoard besides the eight punch-marked coins and the Greek coins. In that case, the hoard is a very curious collection, consisting of eight very old coins, the pre-Mauryan coins being 137 years old at the date of the earliest of the Greek coins and 355 years old at the date of the latest Greek coin, and of 25 "Foreign" coins, for such the Greek coins would be in the Jaipur State, and not the state currency, and extending over a period of 140 years.

It would resemble a collection of "Curios" rather than the usual continuous family hoard.

Mr. Gupta notes that "So far only one hoard is known as having no coins with the Crescent-on-the-hill symbol, which can be assigned to pre-Mauryan period, and that is the bigger hoard from Taxila.[1] There is another such hoard, the Golakhpur Hoard of 108 coins,[2] which was unearthed at Patna in 1919, owing to the bank of the Ganges having been scoured away by this river, in a *ghaṛa*, 15 feet below the present level of Patna city at that place.

MR. GUPTA'S REJOINDER.

Mr. Walsh does not agree with my views that the coin No. 6 is post-Mauryan and maintains that it was undoubtedly Mauryan.

The 'crescent-on-the hill' mark is the imperial mark of the Mauryan kings, and is to be seen invariably on all the silver punch-marked coins issued by the dynasty[3]. It figures as

1. *A Hoard of Silver Punch-Marked Coins from Purnea*, by P. N. Bhattacharyya; *M. A. S. I.* No. 62.

2. *J. B. O. R. S.* 1919. pp. 15-72.

3. *J. R. A. S.* July 1926, p. 349.

the third of the class mark on these coins; but it is conspicously absent on the presnt coin and others of its variety. It is true that the 'crescent-on-the hill' mark is also seen on the reverse of certain pre-Mauryan coins, but it is admittedly put there by the Mauryan administration to authenticate the earlier curreney. This mark also occurs on the reverse of some of the Mauryan coins. But it is conspicously absent from the reverse of the present coin and from every other coin of this variety published so far. (*B. M. C.* Class 2, group IV var. c-h; Patraha hoard, Class II group V; Durga Prasad, 32A3 ; Rairh hoards, pl XXIX). Again this coin type is conspicously absent from the Mauryan Rairh hoard.[1] Thus neither the symbols of the coin nor the evidence of the hoards shows that the coin was current in the Mauryan times. It therefore follows that this variety is definitely post-Mauryan.

But Mr. Walsh has cited the coins of varieties a, c, and e of Group V of class II of Patraha hoard, which are the coins of the present variety and have on their reverse 'peacock on-a hill', 'caduceus' and the mark, which can be conveniently called 'as four taurines around a small solid circle' respectively. He has based his objection on the assumption that these marks were Mauryan marks, hence his conclusion that the coin was Mauryan. But we see that his argument falls short in the case of the two marks, 'Caduceus' and the 'four taurines around the circle'. For, these marks are seen on the obverse of the coins, which are known on definite data as pre-Mauryan.[2] Mr. Walsh has himself described them in his Memoir as the mark 6 and 20a respectively.[3] How can then, these marks be described only as Mauryan ? Only the mark peacock-on-a hill, I admit, appears for the first time on a group of Mauryan coins, but there is no evidence to show that it could not appear on the later coins. If pre-Mauryan symbols could appear on Mauryan coins, symbols of Mauryan coins could equally appear on the later coins. And as such, there is nothing to support Mr. Walsh's assumption.

My studies of the published and unpublished hoards of the punch-marked coins have led me to conclude that each of these three reverse symbols is associated with one particular fourth mark and with no other. Thus the 'peacock-on-the-hill' is seen on the reverse of only those coins, which have on the obverse 'peacock-on-a-hill' the caduceus on the reverse invariably presupposes the same symbol

1. *Excavations at Rairh.*

2. *M. A. S. I.* No. 59.

3. *Ibid*, pl. I

as the fourth mark; (Patraha hoard, class II, group II a-e; and group III, and IV respectively). Similarly 'four taurines around the circle' is seen on the reverse of only those coins which have 'hand-palm within a square' as the 4th mark; this is Patraha Mark 102 (Patraha class II group VIII). Another well known mark 'Taxila-symbol' is seen on the reverse of only those coins which have as their 4th mark 'branch of a tree planted on the right corner of a four-squared railing'—Patraha mark 30 (which in its incomplete form has been described by Mr. Allan as symbol 9 in section 130 of the *B.M.C.* introduction, and by Durga Prasad as symbol 83 on pl. XXVII of his monograph). This peculiarity is seen on the Mauryan coins only. Now none except caduceus has any relation with any of the obverse symbols on the present coin. But the three symbols are seen simultaneously on these coins, having the same group of five symbols; they cannot be regarded as having the same peculiarity, as is seen on the Mauryan coins. This is an additional evidence to show that the coin is not Mauryan. Mr. Walsh thinks that the present coin is Mauryan, because it has got caduceus as the reverse mark. It may be however pointed out that caduceus, peacock on the hill and four taurines around a central knob are all local or mint marks like the well known Taxila symbol. The occurrence of the caduceus on the present coin will only show that it was minted at a particular place and not in Mauryan period. All the coins of this type with the above reverse marks found also in the Patraha hoard are post-Mauryan; they were being issued from old well-known mints for several decades.

(2) Mr. Walsh's next objection is in regard to my assignment of earliest date of issue of this variety to some time in the early part of second century B. C.

His arguments against it are that the 'coin being in mint condition does not show that it was a newly issued coin at the date of even the earliest of the Greek coins, but only that it was in mint condition at the time that it was put into the hoard, which may have been at a considerable earlier date.' But putting the same argument, it may also be possible that it was put into the hoard, when it was in mint condition, at much later date than the earliest Greek coin of the hoard. It may be a century or even more. So this argument like a double edged sword cuts the ground from under the feet of Mr. Walsh himself.

The present hoard is not like those big hoards, which appear to suggest that they were of the nature of a family bank, in which the coins were deposited at various dates.

The hoard was found in a cell of a Buddhist monastery wrapped in a piece of cloth, put in a small earthen ware on a shelf. It was in all probability the life-savings of some greedy monk, and as such it would have been deposited within the period which may be reckoned between 40 and 20 B. C. or a few years later. Thus the hoard has the fixed date of deposit and it would be far fetched to assume that the coin was issued earlier than the date of the earliest of the Greek coins and remained in mint condition for more than 140 years.

In view of these facts and the facts discussed earlier, there can hardly be any doubt of this coin being a post-Mauryan issue.

(3) The present hoard appears to Mr. Walsh as a collection of curios. Let us see how far this is the case.

Greek coins were found with the punch-marked coins in several hoards, but in the area where Greeks had their suzerainty. Here they have been found in a land which may be called as foreign to them. So the surprise of Mr. Walsh is natural. The more so, he was not aware of the circumstances in which the hoard was found and the history behind it. But we know that it was the wealth of a poor monk, who had probably led a wandering life. It was not improbable that the Greek coins might have come to him from some rich man of the Greek territory, and he could not have spent them over there and might have brought them to his residence in the monastery. And the punch-marked coins continued to be in currency for long, and it is no surprise to find pre-Mauryan, Mauryan and post-Mauryan coins together. So here the two types of coins found together in the hoard need cause no surprise.

(4) Last, Mr. Walsh has pointed out that the bigger Taxila hoard is not the only hoard of pre-Mauryan period. I knew about the Golakpur hoard and its being pre-Mauryan, but I have deliberately excluded it, as it is of a different fabric and has no bearing on the present discussion. If Mr. Walsh simply meant to point out the existence of more than one pre-Mauryan hoard, then why Golakhpur alone ? Paila hoard, Jaunpur hoard and a number of other hoards are known to be pre-Mauryan, but all of them are of different fabrics.

A NEW SILVER COIN OF GAUTAMĪPUTRA.

(Supplementary)

MR. P. J. CHINMULGUND, I. C. S., SANGLI.

The rare and interesting silver Sātavāhana coin published in this *Journal*, *ante* Vol. VIII pp. 112-3, Pl. VII. 5, was tentatively attributed by its discoverer, Dr. A. S. Altekar, to Gautamīputra-yajña-śrī-Sātakarṇi. In vol. IX, p. 95, I adduced some grounds in favour of the view that the coin should rather be attributed to Gautamīputra Sātakarni. I would like to revert to the topic once more to consider the further arguments put forth by Dr. Altekar in support of his view as a rejoinder to my paper. Since Sātavāhana silver coins are, they deserve to be thoroughly discussed.

Dr. Altekar argues that the fact that the great Jogalthembhi hoard did not contain any independent silver coin of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi tends to show that that king did not issue independent silver coins of his own. This argument cannot be taken as conclusive. We know that independent silver coins of Sātavāhanas are extremely rare. Including the present coin, only five such pieces are known.[2] Considering this, and also the fact that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi must have had only a few years in which to issue his independent silver currency, the absence of his separate coins in the Jogalthembhi hoard is not surprising. It may also be mentioned that in spite of a reign of over thirty years of Gautamīputra Srī Yajña Sātakarṇi, only four of his silver coins have been found.

Then, again, it is possible that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi issued his own coins not in or near Nasik, but in Mālwā. There must have been a tremendous number of restruck coins of Nahapāṇa available for currency purposes in the Nasik area, and a separate issue must have appeared superfluous[3]. This appears probable, in view of the fact that Dr. Altekar's coin comes from Ujjayinī. This also may account for the absence of such coins in the Jogalthembhi hoard.

1. *J. N. S. I.* Vol. IX p. 95.

2. A sixth silver Sātavāhana coin has recently been discovered by Dr. Altekar in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is hoped that he will publish it soon.

[3. Silver currency was in vogue in Mālwā, Gujarat and northern Mahārāshṭra, and it is not easy to understand that if silver coins were issued in Mālwā by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, why some of them could not have travelled to Nasik, or why that type should not have been introduced in northern Mahārāshṭra as well, which was accustomed to silver currency. Would not the conqueror have taken precaution to introduce at least some of his coins with those of his vanquished enemy? *A.S.A.*]

It is worthwhile quoting Mr. Allan's remark in this connection. He says :—" The case of Gautamīputra counter-marking the coins of Nahapāṇa shows that each ruler or country had a characteristic symbol, which we might almost call a coat of arms.[1]" As far as the silver issues are concerned, therefore, the restriking device used by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi may be taken as his very own, and he must have used it also on his independent silver issue, of which the coin under discussion appears to be an example.

There is another argument based on a measurement of the letters of the inscription on the coin which supports my view. I am not perfectly certain on this point, as I have taken the measurements on the photograph of the coin and as the photograph is not very clear. I, however, give this argument for what it is worth. The measurement across the coin from middle to middle of the letters of the inscription is 0. 6." This gives I. 8" as the space in which the full inscription has to be accommodated. The inscription can be either, "Rāño Gotamīputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa", or "Rāño Gotamīputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa". The former has seventeen letters and seventeen blank spaces between the letters. The latter has fifteen letters and fifteen blank spaces. Now, the width of each letter and of the space between the letters is one-sixteenth of an inch. From these measurements, the space required for the former inscription works out to be 2. 1"; and that required for the latter inscription 1.8". As the space available for the inscription is only 1.8", the latter inscription alone viz. "Rāño Gotamīputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa" could be fully accommodated on the coin. This assumes, of course, that a good specimen of the coin has the full inscription ; but we know that silver Sātavāhana coins do in fact have full inscriptions, and that letters are not omitted for want of space on the flan.

It must be admitted that in the absence of a coin of this type having a full readable inscription, arguments in favour of my or Dr. Altekar's view can only be based on possibilities and that no dogmatic assertion is possible. The balance of evidence, according to me is in favour of my view that the coin in question is of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. It is hoped that this discussion will lead to a thorough and critical examination of every new Sātavāhaṇa coin and enable numismatists to decide questions such as this and others pertaining to Sātavāhana coinage.

Finally, I must mention that I had the privilege of discussing this question with Dr. Altekar during his visit to Bombay in December 1947 and this paper is written as its sequel, at the Doctor's instance.

1. *B. M. C. Ancient India*, p. lxxii.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

I am thankful to Mr. Chinmulgund for sending the above note at my request in reply to my observations about the attribution of the silver coin under discussion.

Mr. Chinmulgund and I agree that the problem can be solved only by our getting a coin giving the full legend. Till then we can only conjecture. Mr. Chinmulgund thinks still that the coin belongs to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and I continue to remain unconvinced. His argument about the space required for each of the 17 letters of the legend is very ingenious; it could have carried weight if the difference between the two legends were not so small as that of two letters only. There are several coins in ancient India, where the letters are not evenly spaced. For instance, on the copper coin of Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Chandra Sātakarṇi, published on Pl. VI, No. 117, of *B.M.C.A.K.*, the concluding letters *sātasa* take as much space as that taken by the four letter *Raño Vasa* in the beginning. We cannot therefore be quite certain as to whether 15 or 17 letters were inscribed in the legend.

Currencies of the different provinces were traditional. Silver currency was common in Mālwā, Gujarat and northern Māhārashṭra in the days of the Kshatrapas; Gupta silver coins also are found all over these three provinces. If Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had started silver currency, it is not easy to understand why it should have been confined to Mālwā and not introduced in the adjacent provinces of Gujarat and northern Mahārāsṭra where it was common. How the rich millionaire of Nasik, who collected the big hoard of more than 16,000 coins, could not come across a single coin of the new type of the new conqueror is also a mystery.

It appears that the Sātavāhanas were never serious in their efforts to start a silver currency. The four coins of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi are more curios than coins. Very few of them seem to have been issued. This renders it very doubtful whether Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had issued any coins. As it is, neither Mr. Chinmulgund nor I can be definite about the attribution of the coin. I think it more probable that the coin may have been issued by Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi than by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi; Mr. Chinmulgund holds that the opposite alternative is more likely. We are anxious to state the arguments on both sides as best as possible with a view to help future research work.

ON THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE NAME "ARDOCHSHO" ON KUSHANA COINS.[1]

By the Late M. D. Khareghat, I. C. S., Bombay.

Sir Aurel Stein in his paper on the Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XVII, April 1888, page 97, has identified the angel Ardochsho with Ashi Vanguhi[2], the Avestic goddess of Wealth and Fortune, from the fact that this female figure with cornucopiae closely resembles that of the Greek deity Tyche, the goddess of fortune[3]. But he says, "We see as yet no way to reconcile her common name in later Zoroastrian tradition "Ashishvang" or "Ardishvang" with the form "Ardochsho". This paper is an attempt to solve this difficulty.

What follows will show that "Ard" represents the part "Ashi", and the part "Ochsho"[4] is really "Wakhsho", and means the same as "Vanguhi", which means "good", and is also applied to the River Oxus.

Ashi Vanguhi means "the good Ashi", and is the presiding angel of the twenty-fifth day of the Parsi month.[5] In Persian, the whole name of this angel is confined to the word "Ard"[6]. But in Sogdian, the word is "Ardhakh", and in Khwarizmian, "Arjukhi"[7]. A fragmentary part of the

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1. Col. R. Khareghat discovered this article among the papers of his uncle, the writer, and was good enough to send it to the journal for publication through Mr. R.G. Gyani.

2. In some systems of transliteration. the "ng" of Vanguhi is represented by an "n" with a dot above it.

3. It may be noted that a similar female figure with the cornucopiae is generally recognised as Śrī or Lakshmī, the goddess of furtune.

4. The Greek letter corresponding to "ch" in Ochsho is pronounced like "kh" in English, or "khe" in Persian. Further the "o" in the same word in Greek represents often "v" or "w" in the original language, as pointed out by Stein in the article quoted above in the text.

5. See Darmstetter's "Ashi Yasht" at page 270, Volume XXIII, of the "Sacred Books of the East" series.

The Bundahish, Chapter XXII. 4, also describes her in the same way as "the rich in wealth, the well-portioned with abounding pleasure." Similarly, Varāhamihira in his *Pañcha-sidhāntikā* has called the angel presiding over the twenty-fifth day of the Parsi month, "Śrī". (See my article on this book in the *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Volume XIX No. III at page 120). Neriosangh Dhaval has also translated her name as "Lakshmi Uttama", e.g. in the Yashna, Ha. 16, Section 6.

In this article, when I refer to Albiruni, I mean Sachau's English translation of Albiruni's book under the name "The Chronology of Ancient Nations; when I refer to the Bundahish, Behman Yasht, I mean West's English translation of those Pahalavi texts published in volume V of Max Muller's "Sacred Books of the East" series.

6. See Albiruni page 53, as well as any good Persian Dictionary, like that of Steingass, for the same word.

7. Albiruni, pages 56 and 57.

full name which appears in the name of a town, "Ardhakhush-mitham"[1]. "Mitham", evidently is the same as the Avestan word, "Maithama" meaning "residence", and so the whole name means "the residence of "Ardhakhush". This is evidently a slight distortion of the word "Ardavakhush". This town is one march from Khiva or Khwarizm. In fact one of the chief places of worship of this angel seems to have been in Khwarizm. This is confirmed by the Bundahish Chapter XXII, 4: "Regarding Lake Khwarizm, it says that excellent benefit is produced from it, that is Arshisang, the rich in wealth, the well-portioned with abounding pleasure". This is further confirmed by Albiruni, who states: "Wakhsh is the name of the angel, who has to watch over the water, and especially over the River Uxus"[2]. Evidently, this is the same word as the present Oxus, and the latter part of Ardochsho.

That the word "Ochsho" or "Wakhsho" means "good" is proved by the fact that the Oxus also has borne the name "Veh". That it has so borne, is proved beyond doubt by statements in the Bundahish, in the Behman Yasht, and by an Armenian writer. The Bundahish says that the Balkh river comes out from the Aparsen Mountain of Bamikan and flows on to the Veh River. As the Balkh River flows into the Oxus, "Veh" must refer to the Oxus. Further, as West states in his note to this passage, an Armenian writer of the seventh century states that Persians called the Oxus, the Veh river. There are similar statements in the Behman Yasht, and I would refer to West's notes on those passages.[3] It is true that the name Veh was also applied to the Indus, but it would seem that this was because the Indus, and the Oxus together, constituted the eastern boundary of Iran at the time.

Besides the identity of Vanghu with the word "Wakhsho" as applied to the River Oxus, there is very good reason to hold that "Wakhsho" is derived from the same root as Vanghu and means "good" in the Khwarizmian or some allied language. Vanguhi is the form used as the feminine of the Avestaic adjective "Vohu", which is derived from the same

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1. See Le Strange's "*Account of the Eastern Khalifate*", page 453.

2. Albiruni, page 225, and Le Strange page 435, where he says "Below the Arhan ford, the Oxus received its great right-bank affluent, namely the Wakhshab or Wakhsh river, from which the Greeks, as already said, took their name Oxus.

3. See, as respect these passages :—

(a) Bundahish—Chapter XX, section 22,

(b) Behman Yasht—Chapter III, section 17 and 38.

root as the Sanskrit, "Vasu" meaning "good". It seems very probable that just as Vanghu[1] is derived from Vohu, by the insertion of the nasal "ng", so Wakhsho is derived by the insertion of "kh". Quite possibly, this "kh" was pronounced very lightly. It must also be noted that the comparative of the Avestaic "Vohu" is "Vakhya", showing the insertion of "kh" even in the Avesta.

EDITOR'S NOTES.

It my be convenient to refer to earlier discusion of this topic. Mr. Thanawala had suggested that the spelling of the name of the goddess should be taken to be Ardoshr and that she should be identified with Ardvishur, the goddess of sea.[2] Mr. Paruck later pointed out that this suggestion was untenable, as no adequate grounds could be given for the change of original *Ardukhsh* first into *Ardoshr* and then into *Ardvishur*.[3] Water is the source of fertility, and so it was not impossible that the Goddess of water should later develop into the Goddess of Fertility and Fortune. But we have another Goddess of Fortune and Prosperity in Avestic mythology and her name Ashisvang or Ardishvang is nearer to Ardoxsho than Ardvishur. The late Mr. Khareghat points out that though the name Ashi Vanghui is remote from Ardoksho, its Persian and Sogdanian forms 'Ard' and 'Ardhakh' show that there was an intermediate form like Ard-vanghui, which could develop into Ardoxsho. I shall be glad to publish the views of Iranian scholars on this interesting topic.

1. As to the derivation of Vanghu, and its identity with the Sanskrit "Vasu", see the words Vanghu and Vakhya in Kanga's Avesta-English Dictionary. One has also to give weight to the fact that the word "Vakhshu" follows the word "Ard", about the identity of which with the Avesta "Ashi", there is no doubt.

2. J. *A. S. B.*, 1916, p. 239.

3. *Ibid*, 1917. p. 56.

DRAMMA-COINS OF THE GURJARA-PRATĪHĀRA KING VINĀYAKAPALADEVA (914-933 A. D.)

BY DR. V. S. AGRAWALA, NEW DELHI.

In the year 1944 in village Bhondri in Sisendi Raj, District Lucknow, was found a hoard consisting of 54 silver coins and about 10 seers of cowrie shells (9834 in number), which were acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, through the kind offices of Mr. P. S. Varma, Special Manager, Court of Wards, Lucknow.

The coins, which are small, thick and irregular, show on obverse the standing figure of a Varāha similar to that found on the Ādivarāha coins of *S*rī Mihira-Bhojadeva, Gurjara Pratihāra king of Kanauj (836–890 A D.). On the obverse of the coins the legend, as completed from several specimens, reads *Srī-Vināyakapāladeva* and was arranged in three lines of three letters each :—

Srī Vinā–
yaka-pāla–
deva.

But the coin surface being much smaller than the die, not more than two lines and partially clipped four letters are visible on any one coin. We can, however, make up the legend by piecing together these letters, as shown below. :—

Pl. II, 1—— { श्री वि / य क } *S*rī–Vi / yaka

Pl. II, 2—— { (ि)व न (ा) / क प (ा) } Va (vi) na (nā) / kapa (pā)

Pl. II, 3—— { व न / क प } Vana / kapa

Pl. II, 4—— { व न / क प } Vana / kapa

Pl. II, 5—— { श्री (व) / प (य) क } Śrī (va) / pa (ya) ka

Pl. II, 6—— क प kapa

Pl. II, 7—— (य) क / (ल) द (व) (ya) ka / (la) da (va)

The weight of the coins varies from 62 to 69 grains.

Vināyakapāladeva was the grand-son of Mihirabhoja and son of Mahendrapāla. His earliest date, as known from the Haḍḍālā copper-plate inscription, is 914 A. D. and the latest, as known from the Rakhetra Gwalior stone inscription, is 943 A.D. The other names of this king, as known from inscriptions, are Mahīpāla, Kshitipāla and Herambapāla.[1] The name Vināyakapāla is given in the Asiatic Soceity Plate of 931 A. D. (V. S. 988), which states that his mother's name was Mahīdevī.

Although numerous hoards of the Ādivarāha *Drammas* of king Bhojadeva have been found and recorded, this is the first time that coins of his grandson, Vināyakapāladeva have been discovered. Indeed, no other ruler of this dynasty, except the great Bhoja himself, was so far known to us through his coins.

Light is also thrown on the coins of Vināyakapāladeva from another important source recently discovered. Thakkura Pheru, who was the mint-master at Delhi in the reign of Alauddin Khilji, wrote a treatise called *Dravya-parīkshā* in V. S. 1375 (1327-28 A. D.). This work deals with the names, weights, values and other specifications of coins which were current when the author compiled his work. There are 149 Prakrit *Gāthā* verses in the book and the author has added valuable tables in the foot-notes to the Gāthās. In verses 82-93, he refers to the Gurjara coins (*Gurjarī-mudrāḥ*), which, I understand, were the coins issued by the kings of Gujarat as well as the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj. Of the 21 coin names in the list, there are two called Varāha-mudrā and Vināyakā-*mudrā* (verses 90-91). The Vārāha-mudrā is to be understood as the Ādivarāha *Drammas* issued by Bhojadeva, which have been so widely known. The Vināyakā-mudrā seems to be identical with the silver coins of Vināyakapāladeva, grandson of Mihirabhoja, which have been found in the present hoard. No other ruler of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty of Kanauj seems to have minted any coins. Thakkura Pheru also supplies valuable evidence about the silver contents of these coins, but I have not been able to check it so far. In the case of the Varāha-mudrās the nett weight of silver was 10 tolas 7 mashas per 100 coins and in the case of Vināyakā-mudrās 8 tolas.

The cowrie shells of this hoard numbering 9834 indicate their common use for smaller currency in an age for which

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1. For these names, see H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 573.

actual copper coins of smaller denominations were rare. According to Tables recorded in medieval texts 20 cowries made one copper *Kākiṇī*; four *Kākiṇīs* were equal to one copper *Paṇa*; and 16 *Paṇas* were equal to one silver *Dramma.*[1] The total number of cowries represented to their owner the value of 7 *Drammas* and 12 *Paṇas*. In the illustrations to arithmetical rules the cowrie-shell frequently occurs as medium of smaller transactions of daily life.

[P.S. I have recen ly seen some copper coins of Vināyakapāladeva, with the boar on the obverse and the king's name on the reverse. I shall be writing on them in the next number of the Journal. *A. S. A.*]

1. Bhogilal J. Sandesara, "Weights, Measures and Coinage of Medieval Gujarat", *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, VIII (1946) pp. 140, 144,

THE RAJGHAT HOARDS OF ŚRĪ-PRATĀPA COINS

By Dr. V. S. Agrawala, New Delhi.

At the time of my visit to Banaras in June, 1947, Śrī Murari Lal Kedia, the founder of the Ram Ratna Pustaka-Bhavana, brought to my notice the fact that in the Rajghat excavations carried on the outskirts of Banaras in 1940-41 three hoards of coins, all of Śrī-Pratāpāditya, were discovered. The first hoard consisting of about 1,000 coins was received by Mr. Kedia directly from the labourer, who had concealed it while digging on the previous evening and then removed the same early next morning. Out of this, 46 select coins are in the possession of Mr. Kedia; the rest were melted by him. The second hoard comprising five to six hundred coins was entirely melted by a relation of Mr. Kedia, no specimens being now available. The third hoard consisting of 269 coins came to Mr. Kedia by purchase from a local dealer named Sitaram of Thatheri-gali.

The available coins were shown to me for examination and I am illustrating the obv. and rev. of five of them on **Pl. IV A** In the first hoard the coins show on the obverse the crude standing figure of the goddess with the legend *Śrī-Pratāpa* on right, and the letter *ke* on left. Two letters, *dāra*, it has been suggested, were engraved between legs, but they are doubtful. On the reverse is shown a crude figure representing king to left with hands lifted up and the name *Kedāra* vertically written on right, by the side of which are shown a crescent-topped pole and a cross with long arms (**Pl. IV A, 3**). On left is a vertical line of dots showing buttons of the coat, and also some other dots indicating either a spray or outlines of a crude face. On one specimen only is there a letter *ja* between *Śrī* and *Pratāpa* (**Pl. IV A, 3**) which Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal read on 131 specimens in the Banda hoard.[1] Another specimen, a die freak, shows *Śrī-Pra-Pratāpa*. **Pl. IV A, 2**.

All the 269 coins in the third hoard are of copper, but similar in type to the above with *Śrī-Pratāpa*, standing goddess being on the obverse, and *ke* and king's figure on the reverse.

[1. For the interpretation of the legend *Srī-ja-Pratāpa*, see my next paper in this number. *A. S. A.*]

The hoards raise an important question, viz., how could the coins of a Kashmir king circulate in the region of Banaras and got buried at Rajghat. Apart from the above three hoards, one electron coin of Pratāpāditya with the legend Śrī-Śrī-Pratāpa and the figure of a goddess on the obverse and the legend *ke* (*da*) and the figure of a king on the reverse was found in 1918 during the Sarnath excavations on the outskirts of Banaras and is now preserved in the Sarnath museum. In 1927 a big hoard consisting of 16,448 coins of Śrī-Pratāpāditya was discovered in the ruins of Aunjhar fortress in Tahsil Mau of Banda District.[1] It gave undoubted proof of the extension of Pratāpāditya-Lalitāditya's conquests upto the Yamunā on the south. Kalhaṇa states in the *Rājatarṅgiṇī* (IV. 134) that king Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir, by his drying up the river-like armies of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, acted as if he were Pratāpāditya[2]. The only rational way in which it can be interpreted is that Lalitāditya after his conquest of the dominions of Yaśovarman assumed the name of Pratāpāditya. The political result of this must have been the extension of Lalitāditya's dominion to those regions which were included in the dominions of Yaśovarman.[3] According to the *Gauḍavaho*, Yaśovarman's dominions extended upto Gauḍa;[4] Banaras at any rate was under his sway towards the east. With the passing of the dominions of the Kanauj ruler to Lalitāditya, it is natural that Banaras also should have passed to him. It is therefore likely that one wing of his conquering army marched towards Banaras, and the hoards got buried under circumstances similar to those that operated in the case of the Banda hoard.

On analysis of the Banda coins the alloy was found to contain 10.53% gold, 13.63% silver and 75.82% copper.

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1. *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLI, 1928, p. 6-9, Prayag Dayal, "Treasure Trove Find of 16,448 Electron Coins in Banda Dt".

2. यशोवर्माद्रिवाहिन्याः क्षणात्कुर्वन् विशोषणम् ।
नृपतिर्ललितादित्यः प्रतापादित्यतां ययौ ॥ IV. 134

[3. A little later Kalhaṇa expressly claims that as a result of this victory the dominions of Kanauj right up to and beyond the bank of the Yamunā came as effectively under the control of the Kashmir king as his own court yard ; cf.

किमन्यत्कान्यकुब्जोर्वी यमुनापारतोऽस्य सा ।
अभूदाकालिकातीरं गृहप्रांगणवद्वशे ॥ IV. 145. *A. S. A.*]

[4. In May 1947 some surface finds of coins made in Monghyr district were sent to me for examination by a local Zemindar. They included two coins of king Pratāpāditya of the type described by Dr. Agrawala in this paper. This find would lend some support to the claim made in the *Gauḍavaho* that the sphere of influence of the Kashmir conqueror extended up to Bengal. *A.S.A.*]

According to Dr. B. B. Lal, Archæological Chemist in India, who at my request made a chemical analysis of one coin from each of the Rajghat hoards 1 and 3, the chemical composition of the alloy is as follows :

Electron coin—

Gold	11.47%
Silver	14.82%
Copper	72.64%
Nickel	0.79%
Total :	99.72

About the copper coin he writes : 'The metal is reddish in colour and appears to be quite homogeneous. Analysis gave 97.43% copper and 0.68% lead ; iron and nickel are in traces. The balance 1.89% appears to be oxygen present in the form of cuprite. The analysis shows that the coin is made of copper. Lead appears to be an impurity'.

THE ATTRIBUTION OF ŚRĪ-JA-PRATĀPA COINS

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Banaras.

In the preceding paper in this number of this *Journal*, Dr. V. S. Agrawala has referred to some coins of king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa Pratāpāditya of Kashmir, with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* on them. The presence of the mysterious letter *ja*, just in the middle of the name of the king, is indeed a mystery. It may be observed that this letter *ja* was not known to occur in this legend before the discovery of the Banda hoard in 1927. In his *Coins of Medieval India*, Cunningham refers to and describes a number of coins with the legend *Pratāpa* on them, but there is none among them with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* The coins with this peculiar legend came to light with the discovery of the Banda hoard; and now we know that they were circulating in Banaras as well. It is a pity that the three hoards found at Rajghat were melted down before their examination. But the Banda hoard consisted exclusively of the coins of Pratāpāditya and it is very probable that the same was the case with the Banaras Rajghat hoards. This would tend to show that the only Kashmir ruler whose coins found their way in the distant United Provinces was Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa Pratāpāditya.

Before discussing the question of the attribution of the Śri-ja-Pratāpa coins, it will be convenient to refer to the Kashmir kings who ruled in the 8th century. Of these Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa Pratāpāditya was the earliest and had a reign of 37 years. Most probably his reign has to be placed during *c.* 700-737 A.D. He is known from his coins. He was succeeded by his son Kuvalāyāpīḍa, who had a short reign of one year and who is not known to have issued any coins. The next ruler was Kuvalāyāpīḍa's brother Vajrāditya, who ruled for seven years (*c.* 738–745 A.D.), but whose coins are not known. Vajrāditya was succeeded first by his eldest son Saṅgrāmāpīḍa, who reigned only for seven days and issued no coins. Saṅgrāmāpīḍa was succeeded by his younger brother Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya, who was a powerful ruler and ruled for 31 years (*c.* 752–783 A. D.). His coins bearing the legend *Vinaya* are fairly common. We are told by Kalhaṇa that the greatness of Jayāpīḍa had been already predicted by his illustrious grand-father Muktāpīḍa Pratāpāditya. On ascending the throne, he tried to emulate his grand-father's example and led an expedition first to Kanauj, then to Prayāga and then to Bengal. While he was away

from Kashmir, his brother-in-law Jajja seized his throne. But he was ousted without difficulty by Jayāpīḍa, when he returned from his foreign conquests. Jajja could rule only for three years.

Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, who published a note on the Banda hoard of the coins of Pratāpāditya, has discussed the qustion of the attribution of the coins with the legend *Śrī–ja–Pratāpa*. He thinks that these coins may have been issued by Jajja, the usurping brother-in-law of Jayāpīḍa.[1] This is an ingenious suggestion. Instances are not rare of usurpers issuing their own coinage, not openly but surreptitiously as Jajja may be inferred to have done, if the *Śrī–ja–Pratāpa* coins are attributed to him. He did not dare to issue coins in his own name openly ; so he issued coins in the name of the recent illustrious emperor of Kashmir, Muktāpīḍa Pratāpāditya and inserted his initial letter in the legend, changing it to *Śrī–ja–Pratāpa.* Diodotus, the Bactrian governor of Seleukos, also did not dare to openly issue coins in his own name ; he simply included his monogram Δ above I on the coins issued in the name of Seleukos.

There are however several difficulties in accepting the above theory. Supposing the usurper Jajja had issued the coins during the reign of his brother-in-law Jayāpīḍa, how is it that we do not find them at all in Kashmir, to which his power must have been confined, and find them in Banda and Banaras districts where his name even may not have been known ? Would he not have taken special precautions that these coins should not go outside Kashmir, so that they may not meet the eye of the legitimate king Vinayāditya Jayāpīḍa and excite his wrath ?

It is further to be noted that kings Kuvalayāpīḍa, Vajrāditya and Saṅgrāmāpīḍa, who reigned in the interval, are not known to have issued any coins. It is possible to argue that these rulers may have continued to issue coins in the name of Pratāpāditya even after his death, and that the usurper Jajja may have simply inserted his initial *ja* in the legend *Śrī–Pratāpa.* This is probable but not possible. And we cannot at all explain why the coins with the legend *Śrī–ja–Pratāpa* should be absent in Kashmir and present only in the hoards found in the U.P. We shall have further to assume that Kashmir continued to hold her extensive conquests right upto Banaras even when weak kings were rising and falling with alarming rapidity. Kalhaṇa distinctly states (IV. 401) that royal power did not shine brilliantly during

1. *J. A. J. B., N. S.*, 1928, p. 61.

the interval of 12 years between the reign of Pratāpāditya and Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya.

The presence of the coins of *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* with those of *Śrī-Pratāpa* would show that they were contemporary issues. Were they really issued in the reign of Jayāpīda Vinayāditya, would not some coins of this ruler, bearing the legend *Śrīvinaya*, have been found in the Banda and Banaras hoards ? None however have been found.

We have seen already how Kalhaṇa credits Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya with a fresh conquest of Kanauj and Banaras. He tells us that the soldiers got tired after reaching Allahabad and returned home, but that the king proceeded all alone to Bengal, where he eventually conquered the five Vaṅgas, married a Vaṅga princess and then returned home.

Kalhaṇa's account of the achievements of Jayāpīḍa in Bengal appears more poetic than historical, but there is nothing impossible in his having reached Prayāga during a fresh expedition.

It is not impossible that Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya may have issued coins with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* during this expedition. People at Banda and Banaras were already familiar with his father's currency with the legend *Śrī-Pratāpa* ; he may have introduced a minor change, changed the legend into *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* and issued coins of the old type with new legend.

There are however several difficulties in accepting this view. Had the coins with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* in the Banda and Banaras hoards been really issued by Jayāpīḍa at the time of his fresh conquest of U. P., there is no reason why regular coins of this ruler having the legend *Śrī-Vinayāditya* should be absent from these hoards. The Banda hoard contained more than 16,400 coins. If it contained about 131 coins of Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa*, it should have contained at least a few dozen pieces with the legend *Śrī-Vinayāditya*. Would not Vinayāditya have preferred to announce his fresh conquest by issuing coins in his own real name ? Why should he have remained content with introducing himself to his new subjects so indirectly ? Since he had issued coins in his own name in Kashmir, he would have done the same in the U. P. But no coins whatsoever with the legend *Vinayāditya* have been found in the U.P. It is therefore clear that *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* coins were not issued during the reign of Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya as the emperor of Kashmir.

The fact that the Banda hoard of 16,448 coins contained 131 coins with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* shows that the two issues were contemporaneous. The hoard was obviously exported to the U.P. to meet the needs of the expeditionary force and the *Śrī-Pratāpa* and *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa* issues must have been contemporary. Kalhaṇa tells us how Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa Pratāpāditya had predicted the greatness of his grandson Vinayāditya. It is therefore very likely that Jayāpīḍa had taken part in his grand-father's expedition in Madhyadeśa and impressed him with his leadership and valour[1]. Jayāpīḍa, being the grandson through a younger son, had very little normal chance of succeeding to the throne of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa tells us how he was an adventurous youth ; he may therefore well have taken part in his grand-father's expedition, hoping to carve out a kingdom for himself, as he had no normal chance of ascending the Kashmir throne. When Pratāpāditya obtained effective possession of Madhya-deśa for some years, he may have naturally appointed his adventurous grand-son as his governor in Eastern U.P. While stationed somewhere in the vicinity of Allahabad or Banaras, the young governor may well have issued coins in the name of his grand-father, but interposing his initial letter *ja* in the legend, and thus changing it into *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa.* Or Muktāpīḍa Pratāpāditya may himself have issued these coins for and in the United Provinces with the initial of his grandson governor's name inserted in the legend, in order to familiarise his new subjects with the name of their governor.

This theory can well explain how the coins with the legend *Śrī-Pratāpa* are mixed up with those with the legend *Śrī-ja-Pratāpa,* how the latter are found only in the U. P. and never in Kashmir and how Vinayāditya Jayāpiḍa's own coins are not found in the U. P. hoards. The historicity of Vinayāditya's expedition to U. P. after his accession to the throne has been doubted by many ; Kalhaṇa's account about it may be probably due to the panegyrists of Vinayāditya Jayāpīḍa ascribing the victories of their patron, really won under the aegis of his grand-father, to a fresh and new expedition after his accession.

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1. At his accession in *c.* 700 A. D. Muktāpīḍa must have been about 35, since he was the youngest son of his father who had a long reign of 50 years. His younger son Vajrāditya may have been born in *c.* 690 and the latter's son Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya in *c.* 715 He could thus have been a youth of about 18 when his grand-father was engaged in his U. P. expedition in *c.* 732 A. D. The case was similar to that of Śuṅga prince Vasumitra cooperating in the Aśvamedha sacrifice of his grand-father Agnimitra, when he was a youth of 16,

SIXTEEN ANCIENT COPPER COINS FROM MALWA.

By D. B. Diskalkar, M. A., Indore

Ten of the sixteen coins (Nos. 1-4, 7-10, 13-14) are from a collection of old coins made by the late Mr. Tikekar of Indore and are now in possession of his nephew Mr. P. G. Khandekar. Five coins (Nos. 5, 6, 11, 15 and 16) are in the possession of Pandit Suryanarayan Vyas of Ujjain. It is not known when and where these coins were found before they were acquired by these gentlemen. The remaining one coin (No. 12) was found on a mound at Maheshvar called Mandal Khoh, on the northern bank of the Narmada by Mr. A. G. Kulkarni of the Indore Museum in 1945 and is now preserved in the Indore Museum under General Register No. 6833.

Five of the coins are copper punch-marked coins, seven coins are of the well-known "Ujjain type," two coins are probably of the "Taxila type," one is a Nāga coin, and the remaining one coin is of the king Sāmantadeva of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty of the Punjab and Kabul valley.

Little progress has been made in the study of the copper punch-marked coins, specially because they are very rarely found. Mr. Allan describes in his British Museum Catalogue only one type of the copper punch-marked coins (pp. 101 ff.), though he has noticed on pages 19 to 21 (Nos. 30, 42, 49) three other punch-marked copper coins of different types. The copper punch-marked coins described in this paper will therefore be found interesting. These copper punch-marked coins have only four symbols on the obverse and only one or two on the reverse. Not many varieties are found in them as in other punch-marked coins, and the number four of the symbols seems to have been generally made up by repeating the symbol of the sun and the Shaḍarachakra or the six-armed symbol. As these symbols are like those found on the silver punch-marked coins, it seems that the copper punch-marked coins were in circulation along with the silver punch-marked coins. Secondly although it is not known where exactly these copper punch-marked coins were found, it is very likely that they were found along with the 'Ujjain' coins. If so, it will show that copper punch-marked coins were current along with the Ujjain coins proper. It may also be noted in support of this view that the symbol of a running dog seizing a hare found on the copper and

silver punch-marked coins is also found on a copper coin of the Ujjain type found at Kasrawad.[1]

The coins Nos. 1 to 5, which are punch-marked have in saparate incuses four symbols on the obverse and one or two on the reverse.

No. 1. Square; size. 5″; weight 37 grains.

Obverse: Sun, two *shaḍarachakras* and dumbells.

Reverse: Caduceus. **Pl. III, 1**

No. 2. Square; size ·5″; weight 30 grains.

Obverse: Sun, two *shaḍarachakras* and a Dāḍima fruit (See Allan; *B.M.C.A.I.*, p. lxvii, 80). **Pl. III, 2**

Reverse: Uncertain symbol like that in *B.M.C.A.I.*, page, cxxxvii, line 6.

No. 3. Round; size, ·5″; weight 58 grains.

Obverse: Three suns blurred and tree in railing.

Reverse: Caduceus in one incuse and Ujjain symbol in another. **Pl. III, 3**

This type resembles that in V. Smith's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Pl. XIX-ii.

No. 4. Square; size ·5″; weight 37 grains.

Obverse: Three suns, conchshell.

Reverse: An indistinct depression.

No. 5. Square; size, ·4″; weight 34 grains.

The coin is a Pāda-paṇa or Kākiṇī.

Obverse: Sun, Caduceus and running dog. The fourth symbol is indistinct.

Reverse: Indistinct, probably Ujjain symbol.

No. 6. Round; size, ·7″; weight 130 grains.

Obverse: Kārtikeya standing facing with Śakti in r. hand and sun above it. Probably there was a tree in railing parallel to the Śakti, but it is almost off the flan. On the right in the upper corner, six-armed symbol. Another indistinct symbol on the head of the deity, probably two taurines. The object in its left hand is not clear. It looks like a dog.

Reverse: Ujjain symbol, each end having two circles with a small knob within.

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1. See *J.N.S.I.* vol. VIII. (Dec 1946), Pl. VI. No. 8 and Allan *B.M.C.A.I.*, p. xxvii etc.

The coin resembles the one described in *B. M. C. A. I.* Ujjain type class 2, var. a, p. 245 and pl. xxxviii-1, but its Ujjain symbol is slighty different. There seems to be an additional indistinct object below the *shaḍarachakra.*

No. 7. Square ; size. 7" ; weight 83 grains.

Obverse : Standing figure facing, like the one in the preceding coin with a Śakti in right hand. The left hand is indistinct. Figure seems to wear a cloak and probably shoes. To its right, tree in railing and below, river with fish. Small Ujjain symbol between head of the figure and the tree

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with four small dots inside each knob. **Pl. III, 4.**

No. 8. Square ; size. 7" ; weight 90 grains.

Obverse : On the left, Lakshmī seated on a full-blown lotus flower holding in her right hand a long stem of another lotus flower. The left hand rests on the thigh. Tree in railing to the right. Swastika and Ujjain symbol, rather indistinct, in the corner above the tree.

Reverse : Plain Ujjain symbol. **Pl. III, 5.**

Ujjain coins partially resembling the present coin type have been published in *B. M. C. Ancient India,* p. 252 and pl. XXXVIII, 23. The *B. M. C.* coins, however, are round in shape and small in size ; on them Lakshmī is on the right and her hands are akimbo at chest. The lotus seat also is not as well shown as on the present coin. The eight-armed symbol shown on p. 252 of the *B. M. C.* does not figure on our coin, but it is doubtful whether it occurs on the *B. M. C.* coins as well. The plate does not show any trace of the symbol shown on p. 252 of the Catalogue.

No. 9. Square ; size. 5", weight 50 grains.

Obverse : Standing female figure with her right hand resting on the hip and the left hand raised up and holding some object resembling a torch. On the right, tree in railing ; on the left, two taurines with an incomplete symbol above. Below, river with fish.

Reverse : Plain Ujjain symbol with taurines in the intervals between the knobs. Faint traces of an older Ujjain symbol under the new Ujjain symbol. **Pl. III, 6.**

This is a beautiful and clear coin though the head of the female figure is partly damaged. It resembles the type *B. M. C. A. I.*, class IV, var. d,p. 247, Pl. XXXVIII, 13. The *B. M. C.* coin, however, has a Ujjain symbol on the left and not taurines; the object in the left hand of the goddess is not clear. Both the coins have the Ujjain symbol on the reverse, but our coin has taurines in the interval of its knobs. It is squarè in shape and not round like the *B. M. C.* piece

No. 10. Square; size, 3½″; weight 17 grains.

Obverse: Elephant blurred facing right. In its front, tree in railing and below, river with fish.

Reverse: Double-knobbed Ujjain symbol.

This type resembles that of *B. M. C. A. I.*, XXXVI, 6 ff.

Pl. III, 7

No. 11. Rectangular; size ·35″; weight 19·5 grains.

This coin is one-eighth of a *paṇa* or Ardhakākiṇī.

Obverse: Tortoise.

Reverse: Ujjain symbol with a dot in the pellets.

Rectangular 'Ujjain' coins of very small size found at Kasrawad have already been known; see, *ante*, Vol. VII, 103. This is one more coin of the kind, though picked up in Ujjain proper No coin with the sign of a tortoise was knowu so far.

No. 12. Rectangular, clipped; size. 6″; weight 70 grains.

Obverse: Symbols indistinct. (Probably one is a conchshell as is usually found on punch-marked copper coins, and the other symbol looks like a snail. To the left a line of taurines.

Reverse: Ujjain symbol. **Pl. III, 8**

No such type was known so far.

No. 13. Thin and round; size. 7″; weight 22 grains.

Obverse: Elephant to left. Above, a circular symbol.

Reverse: Three-arched hill surmounted by a peculiar *Surai* (?) like symbol. **Pl. III, 9**

Mr. Allan gives a type like this on pl. XXXIV, 18 but the peculiar symbol on the obverse above the elephant and the one on the reverse above the hill are absent on it.

No. 14. Thick and round; size, ·5″; weight; 24 grains.

Obverse : Elephant to left holding some peculiar object in its mouth.

Reverse : as in the above type, but the *Surāi* is only half visible. **Pl. III, 10**

This is also quite a new type.

No. 15. Round ; size, ·4″. weight 19·5 grains. Ardhakākiṇī.

Obverse : Head to right of the Nāga King Mahārāja Gaṇendra of the Nāga family whose coins are found in Mālwā.

Reverse : Indistinct : Brāhmī legend. Upper portion of Triśūla is visible in the lower part of the coin.

No. 16. Round; size. 6″; weight 55 grains.

Obverse : Recumbent humped bull with trappings to right. Trident on the hump. Above, legend, *Sāmantadeva*.

Reverse : Horseman to right in a very degraded style.

The type resembles that of Sāmantadeva, the king of Ohind, described and illustrated by V. A. Smith in the *I.M.C.* Vol. I, p. 247 Pl. XXVI, 3. The one with us is of a very small denomination. Whether the coin was found at Ujjain or was brought from outside is not known.

AN INTERESTING BEAD IN THE ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL MUSEUM

By S. C. Kala, M. A., Allahabad

The Allahabad Municipal Museum has recently acquired an interesting bead from the ruins of Kauśāmbī, the celebrated capital of the Vatsa kingdom. The surface of the bead is painted black and over it are put a few symbols in white colour by some chemical process. No bead of this type has yet come to my knowledge from any other site of this country. It measures two centimetres in length. **Pl. III, 13.**

The symbols occuring on the bead were already noticed on some Sātavāhana coins, as also on a few coins found at Taxila, Ujjain and Eran[1] and on a disc excavated at Pāṭalīputra[2]. Mr. Allan merely called it a 'familiar object' while Princep a '*Joyadhvaja*' or banner of victory. As early as the year 1890 Theobald identified this symbol on some punch marked coins,[3] and termed it as 'food receptacle'. The presence of the same symbol on a bead is important, as it throws some light on its true nature. A mere object or mark could not have found place on a bead to be worn by the aristocratic women of the times. It was most probably an auspicious symbol supposed to bring good luck.

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1. Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, Pt. XXXIV.
2. *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1912-13, Pl. XLIX.
3. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LIX, 1890 Fig. 120-121.

JAYADHVAJA (?) SYMBOL ON COINS

BY P. L. GUPTA, BANARAS.

Before sending to press the preceding paper of Mr. Kala, the editor was kind enough to show it to me. Only a few days before, I had seen the drawing of the bead, described above, in a proof-print of an article on beads by Śri Vijaya Krishna, which was being published in the *Kalānidhi.*[1] I was then attracted with the striking similarity of the engraving of the bead with one of the symbols found on the punch-marked coins. Since Sri. Kala has described the bead, I take this opportunity to add to it some of my observations.

The symbol of the bead is seen on a number of punch-marked coins in its various forms, but it is to be seen, in the exact above form, only on the coins having the following five symbols.

This variety of the punch-marked coins is known only from the following sources ;—

1. *Mangrul hoard.* 174 silver punch-marked coins were discovered at Mangrul, Tahsil Hinghanghat in the Wardha district in 1923. 10 of them, belonging to the present variety, are in Nagpur Museum[2] and 2 in British Museum.[3]

2. *Ahraurā hoard.* A hoard of about 300 coins was found in Ahraurā of Mirzapur district. Of them 150 only could be secured by Śri. Shrinath Shah of Banaras ; the rest went to the melting pot. Some 50 of these coins were subsequently transferred to the cabinet of the late B. Durga Prasad. Probably one or two of them were of the present variety.[4] He has described them in his monograph.[5]

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1. A quarterly Journal in Hindi, which is being published by Bhārat Kalâ Bhawan, Banaras.

2. I am indebted to Sri V. P. Rode, Archaeological Assistant of the Nagpur Museum for this information.

3. Class II group XI var. C. Unfortunately the last three symbols on these coins were not properly identified by Mr. Allan.

4. I owe this information to Sri Shrinâth Shāh.

5. N. S. Vol XLV pl XXI (Var. 142). The third and fifth symbols are inaccurately identified there.

3. *Kasrāwad hoard.* 35 coins were found at Kasrāwad in Indore state, which are now in Indore Museum. Two of them belong to the present variety. This hoard will be published in the *Journal* in the next number.

4. *Bhārat Kalā Bhawan collection.* A big hoard of punch-marked coins is lying in the Bhārat Kalā Bhawan, Banaras, unstudied and unclassified. Some time back I had an occasion to examine them cursorily. I then noticed that about 50 or more coins belonged to the present variety. The exact provenance is not known, but it is believed that it was somewhere within the United Provinces.

The present variety is conspicuously absent from the hoards published so far from East and North-west India. Neither any of the five hoards of Rairh nor the big Patraha hoard has any coin of the present variety and the hoards described above are confined to Central India and a portion of ancient Madbyadeśa.

The symbol of the bead is also seen on a number of uninscribed cast coins published in the *B. M. C.* (part III) as Vars. *C.* to *K.* The exact provenance of these coins is not known, but Mr. Allan is of opinion that "they do not come from the North-West or South of India. The impression one gets from the frequent but not specific reference to early cast coins in *A. S. I. A. R*, is that they belong mainly to Central India and United Provinces[1] Exactly this symbol is also seen on certain uninscribed coins from Kauśāmbī (*B.M.C.*, var. *a* and *b*).[2] It is very likely, as Mr. Allan thinks,[3] that some of the cast coins referred to above may also be connected with Kauśāmbī.

With these facts before us, I am inclined to think that the symbol on the bead had some local significance. I am afraid that I cannot agree with Shri. Kala in thinking that it is some auspicious sign.

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1. *B. M. C. A. I.* Intro. PL. XXVI.

2. Mr. Allan has described the symbol in the present form on the cast coins of Taxila and Ujjaini (*B.M C.* into xxxix) but on them the form of the symbol is different than the present one. The symbol on the Taxila coins (class 35) has no two prongs on the top right (pl. xxxv, 4) and the Ujjayini coins (class 1k) have a single prong on the left and no prong on class 3. So, the cymbol in the present form is seen only on Kauśambī coins.

3. *B. M. C. A. I.* Intro P XCV.

A UNIQUE HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

BY PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA, BANARAS.

Recently a hoard of 280 silver punch-marked coins was noticed at the shop of a Sarrof at Azamgarh, U. P., who had purchased it from the finder, a Chamar by caste. They are now in my collection. The Sarrof, not being interested in numismatics, did not care to enquire from the finder about the find-spot and other necessary paticulars about it, So no course is left to us but to content ourselves with the conjecture that it was found within the boundaries of Azamgarh district.[1]

All the coins of the hoard are thick square pieces, fresh in look with sharp chiselled edges and are in mint condition and have no trace of being in currency. In all probability they were hoarded or buried soon after they came out of the mint. Their weight follows the 32 *rattis* standard.

The most intersting feature of the hoard is that all the coins, without any exception, are of a single variety having the following marks on the obverse :—

(1) Sun, (2) Six-armed symbol having three arrows and three taurines alternately placed; (3) Mauryan imperial symbol, three arched hill with crescent at the top ; (4) Caduceus; and (5) a standing warrior with a shield and a spear.[2]

The coins are the same as *B.M.C.A.I.* 2. III. f and are known from the following places.

1. *Banaras.* Of the coins presented by Cunningham to the British Museum, the find-spot of one is mentioned as

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1. The district of Azamgarh seems to be rich for the silver punch-marked coins. Carleyle found some coins from the mound of Chiraiyakot, when he visited the place in the last century. There are 5 coins (class 4a, 4d, 6. I. a) in the British Museum from this spot, which were presented by Cunningham. It is not known if these coins are the same that were found by Carleyle. But another coin (class 2. IV. e) of the British Museum is definitely from some other source but from a place of this district. Then during the last decade I came across two hoards of the punch-marked coins; one of them, which came from Deorāpatti in Ahraulā Tahsil, was the biggest ever known. It contained several thousand coins and was found in a trough (*nād*) buried in a field. But under odd circumstances it went either to the crucibles of gold smiths or to some other places now untraceable. Only 8 coins could be saved and they are now in my collection. The other hoard of 323 coins came from some village of Lalganj Tahsil and it also forms part of my collection. Both these hoards are unpublished so far, but occasional references were made by me in my earlier papers.

2. See next page for this foot note.

Banaras, probably the other two coins also came from the same site. The find-spots of the coins presented by Thomas, Theobald and Princep are not recorded.

2. *Kosam.* B. Durga Prasad in his monograph (N. S. XLVII) has described this variety as 40A, though he has not properly identified the fifth mark. He mentions Kosam as the find spot.

3. *Kasarwad* (Indore state). Of the 35 coins of this hoard, which are in Indore Museum and still unpublished, 12 belong to this variety[3].

4. *Rairh* (*Jaipur state*). Of the 5 hoards of the punch-marked coins found during the excavations in 1941, two hoards include the coins of this variety. While the hoard of 535 coins has only one coin, the hoard of 132 coins has no less than 116.

5. *Bahal* (*Bombay Presidency*). Some coins of this variety are included in this hoard of 690 coins. (*J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XX (N. S.) pp. 83-87).

But on the other hand this coin-type is conspicuously absent from the hoards from North-West Previnces and Bihar. Thus it seems that it was confined to Central India and Madhyadeśa. It is most likely that the mint where it was minted might have been located some where in the U.P.

On all the coins of the present hoard, as well as on all the coins of the hoards referred to above, the symbol caduceus appears both on the obverse and reverse and in the same size. Some of the coins of other hoards, other than the present one, have one or two other marks also on the reverse as the counter marks. In the light of the present hoard, it may positively be concluded that the reverse mark caduceus was punched simultaneously along with the obverse marks in the mint, and is directly related with the obverse. The other reverse marks, which are seen on only some of the coins of the present variety, along with the caduceus, were added later as counter marks and they may have had their independent significance, if any.

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2 This mark has been identified by Mr Allan as Kārttikeya (*B. M. C.* Intro. p. xxxvi) as an identical figure is found on a series of the copper coins of Ujjayini (*Ibid.* p. 248; pl. xxxviii coin 11 & 12). But the object on the head is more like a Greek helmet and there is nothing to suggest that the figure had three heads of the God. So, I prefer to identify the figure as a warrior.

[3. A paper of Mr. D. B. Diskalkar on this coin collection will be published in the next number. *A.S.A.*]

Here it will not be out of place to mention that this is not only true in the case of present variety only, but of all the other varieties of the Mauryan coins[1] having caduceus as the fourth mark; all these have invariably the mark caduceus on the reverse (cf. *BMC* 2. II. e-h; 2. III a-i; Rairh hoard pl. XXVIII; Patraha hoard II. III. a-c; II. IVa-h j-k). The only exception to this is *BMC* 2. IV.a: Rairh hoard, pl. XXIX: Patraha hoard II. IV. i, where the reverse caduceus is replaced by peacock on the hill, but that too is constant as reverse mark on all the coins of that variety. Now if we turn to other Mauryan coins, which have the *fourth mark* other than the caduceus, we shall notice that all the coins having one type of fourth mark have invariably a common reverse mark, in most cases the same mark as the fourth mark on the obverse.

1. Coins bearing on the obverse as the fourth mark have on the reverse. (Patraha II. I. a, b, c, f,; BMC 2. I. a-g)

2. Coins bearing on the obverse as the fourth mark have the same mark on the reverse. (Patraha II. II. a-c, e; BMC. 2. II. a-d; Puri, pl. xxvii-viii).

3. Coins having on the obverse as the fourth mark have as the reverse mark. (Patraha II. VIII a-d; BMC 2. IV. u-v)

Thus we have the following conclusions about the Mauryan coins.

1. On the reverse, we have two types of marks (1) original and (2) counterstruck.

2. The original marks were punched along with the obverse marks, and are of the same size as the marks on the obverse.

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1. By Mauryan coins, I mean only those coins which have crescent on the three-arched hill as the third mark along with the sun and *chakra*; or which have these three marks replaced by three human figure or by the symbols (1) Three spear head over a oval placed on two posts (2) six-arched hill and (3) pup on a railing pole.

3. All the coins having a common fourth mark have the common original reverse mark and thus have some definite relation between them.

4. Counterstruck marks are seen along with the original marks, but not necessarily on all the coins. They were punched at some later date.

GOLD MUHARS OF LATER MUGHALS

By Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, Asst. Editor, AJ, Banaras.

While a number of hoards of silver coins of Mughal emperors come to light every year and add some thing new to our numismatic knowledge, the hoards of their gold coins are relatively rare. This is but natural. The coins of the later Mughals being issued in relatively recent times, circulated as gold pieces and were not therefore buried. When they lost their coin value with the advent of the British rule, their owners usually preferred to melt them down, instead of burying them, because the rising price of gold rendered it profitable to convert the coins in cash. Hundreds of coins are being melted down every year and so we get few hoard of the gold coins of the later Mughals.

It would, therefore, interest the scholars to know that recently I came across 56 gold coins of these kings in a collection of 81 coins,[1] which originally formed part of the treasury of a Talluqedar of Rai Bareli district of Awadh and was purchased by a bullion merchant of Banaras.

The coins in this collection will probably soon be scattered, as the owner proposes to sell them off and some of them have already been purchased by Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras. I, therefore, think it advisible to place on record an inventory of this collection with notes and comments.

AURANGZEB

1. Mint : Akbarābād. Date. A. H. 1072; R. Y. 4.

Though Agra had its importance next to Delhi in the Mughal times and the silver coins of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb were issued in abundance from this mint, the gold coins of Aurangzeb issued from this mint are conspicuously absent from the catalogues of the Museums. Only one gold coin of this mint is listed in the Catalogue of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. This is, therefore, the second specimen of this mint, but it is quite distinct from the Lucknow coin. The Lucknow coin has the epithet *Mustaqir-ul-khilāfat* added to the mint name, which is absent on the present coin. The

1. Of the remaining 25 coins, 1 was of Allauddin Khilji, 1 of Akbar (dated 980 A. H. Mint name out of flan but probably Agra), 19 of Durrani dynasty, 3 of Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur and 1 modern coin in an unidentifiable condition.

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Lucknow coin is dated A. H. 1103/ R. Y. 35, while the present one is dated 31 years earlier, A. H. 1072/R. Y. 4. We know from the silver coins that the above epithet was not added to the mint name till R. Y. 34 as the coins of the earlier dates do not bear it. The coins issued during this year and afterwards are adorned with this epithet. As such, the present coin is the only specimen of the early issue of this mint. The coin now forms the part of the cabinet of Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras.

2. Mint : Multan. Date A. H, 1112; R. Y. 44.

5 coins of this mint are in the Punjab Museum, 2 in the Lucknow and 2 in the British Museums. The latest known date of this mint is A. H. 1094/R. Y. 26 from a coin in the Punjab Museum. The present coin is 18 years later in date and therefore, an interesting piece.

3-4. Mint : Aurangabad. Date. A. H. 1091 and 1095.

The Punjab, the Lucknow and the British Museums, each have two coins of this mint, but all of them are dated between A. H. 1073 and 1079. The present coins are much later in date.

5. Mint : Dārul-khilāfat Shāhjahānābād. Date. A. H. 1097 ; R. Y. 30.

The coins of this mint are very common. The Lucknow Museum has 11, the Punjab Museum has two and the British Museum has 4 coins, but none of them bears the date of the present coin.

6-11. The mint name on 6 coins are either missing or undecipherable. They are dated A. H. 1076; 1097; 1103; 1109; 1110 and 1111.

SHĀH ĀLAM BAHĀDUR

12. Mint : Khujistā Buniād. Date A H. 1121.

Khujistā Buniād is the name of Aurangabad. One coin of this mint is in the Lucknow and three in the British Museum. The year 1121 is represented on them.

JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH

13. Mint : Akbarabad Mustaqir-ul-mulk. Date. A. H. 1124/R.Y. *Ahad.*

Five coins of this mint are in the British Museum, but only one is in the Lucknow Museum. The Punjab Museum has none.

FARRUKHSIYAR

14. Mint : Khujistā Buniād. R. Y. 2.

One coin of this mint is in the Punjab Museum and three in the Lucknow Museum, their dates being. R Y. 4, 6 and 7. The present coin thus supplies the earliest date for the series.

MUHAMMAD SHĀH

15–21. Mint : Shāhjahānābād Dār-ul-khilāfat.

Date. R. Y. 3, 10 12 (3 coins) 14, 16
A. H. 11—, 11—, 11, 1141,—

Very common coins.

22. Mint : Shahabad Qanauj. A. H. 114–; R. Y. 10

Though silver coins of this mint are fairly common (no less than 17 coins are in the Lucknow Museum), gold coins are rare. The only published gold coin is in the Lucknow Museum and is dated 114411 R. Y. 13. The present coin is dated three years earlier. It is now in Bharat Kala Bhawan.

23. Mint. Undecipherable. date. R. Y. 11.

AHMAD SHĀH BAHĀDUR

24–31. Mint : Dār-ul-khilāfat Shāhjahānābād.

Date A. H. 1161/R. Y. *Ahad* (2 coins); 1166/5 (3 coins); 1166/6 (3 coins).

Very common.

32 Mint : Multan Date A. H. 11651, R. Y. 5.

This is a rare mint of this king. Only one coin is described in the catalogue of the Punjab Museum, which is also dated in the present year. The present coin is now in Bharat Kala Bhawan.

ĀLAMGIR II.

33–45. Mint : Shāhjahānābād Dār-ul-khilāfat.

Ālamgir II had issued from this mint the coins of at least four varieties having different legends on the obverse. Of these three varieties are represented in the present collection.

Var. *a.* (1 coin) R. Y. 1.

Legend. *Sikkā Mubāraka Bādshāh Ghāzī Ālamgīr.*

The Lucknow Museum has got two and the British Museum one coin of this variety. All these coins, including the present one, is dated in the first R. Y. Probably this issue was not renewed in subsequent years.

Var. *b.* (6 coins). R.Y. 2 (on 3 coins), R.Y. 3 (on 3 coins).

Legend. *Sikkā mubāraka Abu ādil Azīzuddīn Âlamghīr Bādshāh Ghāzī Muhammad khuld Allāh mulk–o–saltanat.*

The Lucknow and the British Museums have each got one and the Punjab Musuem two coins of this variety. It seems that this variety was discontinued after the third year.

Var. *c.* (6 coins) A. H. 1170, R. Y. 4.

Legend. *Sikkā zad bar half kiśwar hamchoo ta bān mahr-o-māh Shāh Azizuddin Ālamghir Ghāzī bādshāh.*

The Lucknow Museum has four and the Punjab Museum has only one coin of this variety. The Lucknow coins are dated R.Y. 4 to 6, but the Punjab coin has the R. Y. 2. Probably the reading on this coin is not correct as in the earlier years, the varieties *a* and *b*, referred to above, were issued. This may be R.Y. 4., but a simultaneous issue of this variety is not unlikely.

46–47. Mint: Sawāi Jaipur. R. Y. 3 and 4. A. H. 116–

Legend. Obv. As var *a* of Shahjahanabad mint.

Rev. *Zarab Sawāi Jai (pur) san* 3 *jalūs maimanat mānūs.*

The mint Sawai Jaipur was founded by Muhammad Shāh and the gold and silver coins issued by him and his successors are known, but the coins of Alamgir are conspicuously absent from all the museums. It seems that the coins of this mint are rare.

SHĀHJAHĀN III.

48. Mint: Mahinderpur. Date A. H. 1174.

Few coins of this king are known to us and amongst them only one coin of the present mint exists in the Punjab Museum. The present coin is the second specimen and is now in Bharat Kala Bhawan.

SHĀH ĀLAM II.

49. Mint: Banaras Muhamadābād.

50. Mint: Awadh.

51. Mint: Dārur Sarūr. R. Y. 46, A. H. 12—

The full name of the mint is absent from the coin, but *Sarūr* is clear. No other mint than Burhanpur has *Sarūr* as the part of the epithet. So I have identified this coin as the coin of this mint. One coin of this mint is in the Lucknow Museum and dated A. H. 1195/ R. Y. 22, but that is quite different in fabric and calligraphy. The arrangement of the legend is also different. On that coin too the name Burhanpur is missing.

52-54. Mint names undecipherable.

BAHĀDUR SHĀH

55-56. Mint: Sawai Jaipur. Date A. H. 12—/ R.Y. 4; 1271/ R. Y. 18.

Legend. Obv. *Sikkā mubāraka bādshāh Ghāzi 1271 Muhamad Bahādur Shāh.*

Rev. *Zarab sawāi Jai (pur) san 18 jalūs maimnat mānūs.* (Monogram No. 89. *PMC.*)

According to catalogues no gold coin of this king is known. Even of the silver coins, only those have been considered as the coins of this king, which were minted at Shājahānābād Dārulkhilāfat.[1] The coins minted elsewhere are said to be issued in his name by others. Whatever it may be gold coins issued in his name even by others are probably not known elsewhere. So, these coins are interesting. I invite the scholars to shed light on the subject.

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1. In a coin conference in 1910 held at Allahabad, it was resolved that only those coins of Muhammad Akber II and Bahadur Shah should be deemed Mughal issues, which were struck at Delhi (Shāhjahānābād).

A NEW FIND OF GOLD COINS OF DURRĀNĪ DYNASTY

By Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, Asst. Editor, Aj, Banaras.

The coins of the Durrānī dynasty which was built over the ruins of the Mughal empire and ruled in the North-western part of the country for about a hundred years in the eighteenth and ninteenth centuries, are by no means common. Mr. R.B. Whitehead's corpus[1], which is the last work done on this coinage, was published in 1933. Since then no new find has come to light and our knowledge of the subject has hardly made any progress.

Fortunately enough, during last June I came across 19 gold coins of this dynasty in a collection of 81 coins at a bullion dealer's shop at Banaras, which originally formed part of the treasury of a Talluqedar of Rae-Bareli district of Awadh. These coins include the issues of Ahmad Shāh, Taimūr Shāh and Mahmūd Shāh. While the coins of the first two kings are all of known varieties and add little to our knowledge, the coins of Mahmūd Shāh constitute an important addition to the series. I now proceed to describe the coins.

AHMAD SHĀH.

Of these 19 coins, 5 coins belong to Ahmad Shāh (1 of Multan mint, 3 of Dera mint and 1 of Derajāt mint). All these have the usual couplet (*P. M. C.* Vol. III p. 13) on the obverse. The reverse of the one coin of the Multan mint and that of the two coins of the Dera coins, have the Mughal formula '*San jalūs maimanat manūs*' with the mint name and date. The Multan coin is dated A. H. 1170/ R. Y. 10. The coin is the same as *P. M. C.* No. 47. The Dera mint coins are dated in the 7th and 10th R. Y. The first coin has A. H. year 1167 also. These coins are the same as *P. M. C.* Nos. 10 and 12. The third Dera coin has got the simple reverse legend '*zarab Dera san*' with the monogram Triśūla, the common mint-mark of this mint. This is the same as *P. M. C.* Nos. 13-16, but the earliest known date among them is R. Y. 10. The present coin gives an earlier date namely R. Y. 7. The Derajāt mint coin is the same as *P. M. C.* No 7, which is considered to be rare.

1. *Coins of Nādir Shah and the Durrānī Dynasty (P. M. C. Vol. III).*

TAIMŪR SHĀH.

Of the remaining coins 12 belong to Taimūr Shāh. 5 of them are those issued by him as the Nizam of the Punjab, Sindh and Derajāt during the reign of his father. These coins are the issue of Multan Dār-ul-āmān mint and are dated R. Y. 8 (A.H- 1177), 9 (11--), 12 (1181) and 14 (1184). The coins are the same as *P. M. C.* 283-286, but the dates 8 and 14 are not represented in the catalogue.

The remaining 7 coins are his own issues as king. 4 of them are of Peshawar, 2 of Kabul and 1 of Dera mints. All these coins have the common couplet (*P. M. C.* p. 59) but the arrangement is different. The reverse of the Peshawar coins has the Mughal formula with the mint name and are dated A. H. 1194/R.Y. 10, 1203/17, 1204/17. The coins are the same as *P. M. C.* 361-369. The coins from the Kabul and Dera mints have the simple mint names and dates. They are also of known varieties.

MAHMŪD SHĀH.

The remaining two coins belong to Mahmūd Shāh. His gold coins are known to be issued only from the mints Ahmad Shāhi and Bahāwalpur during his first reign and from the mint Kabul during his second reign. The present collection shows that he had issued coins from two other mints also, Dera and Multan. As such the coins are interesting and are described below.

1. Mint: Dera. R. Y. *Ahad.*

Obverse	Reverse.
[1] (زوبر) زر	احد
سکه	سنه
توفیق اله گیتی	ب
خسور	ضرب دیرة
محمود شاه	

2. Mint: Multan. A. H. 1226.

Obverse	Reverse.
1............	ملتان
سکه	ضرب ۱۲۲۶

1. The Complete couplet on the coins is the same as on all other coins of this king. It is as follows :—

سکه بر زر و بتوفیق اله
خسرو گیتی ستان محمود شاه

مود ساه واراامان M 8. (*P.M.C.*)

سور
ستان

No gold coin of these two mints of this king either of his first or of the second reign was known. Silver coins of these mints of his first reign are known, but of the second reign they are conspicuously absent. The first coin belongs to the first reign of the king and is similar in its obverse and reverse to the silver coin of the same mint (*P. M. C.* No. 953 pl. X. 10). The second coin belongs to his second reign and is the only known specimen of this mint.

Both these coins have since been purchased, and are now in Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras.

TANKIS: THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.

By Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, Asst. Editor, Aj,
Banaras.

Certain copper coins, known as *tankis* were issued from the mints of Ahmadabad, Agra, Kabul and Lahore during the last five years of Akbar's reign. They are known in one, two and four *tanki* pieces. These have been described by the numismatists as curious and interesting mintage of the emperor.

Rodgers was so much impressed by the absence of any reason for their existence as coins that he declared that they were standard weights bearing the Imperial stamp.[1] Whitehead thought that the meaning of *Tanke* (Tanki) was obscure. To him it was a weight which had little or no connection with the Tanka (coin).[2] But Hodivala pointed out that the *tanka* was a weight in very common use in Akbar's days and that it was equivalent to about 63 grs. troy.[3] As the weight of the *tankis* was also approximately the same, he thought that it was intended to serve both as a coin and as a weight.[4]

While Hodivala recognised the nature of the pieces as coins, he could not explain properly the object of introducing the new denominations. The traditional weight of the *tanka* happened to be about the tenth part of the heavy Akbari *tanka*, so he thought that it was the idea of some one, who adopted the decimal system of currency. These pieces were issued to serve the fractional currency of the *tanka* as one-tenth, one-fifth and two fifth.[5]

But it does not seem convincing that they were issued simply because some one thought of adopting the decimal system of division. There might have been some sufficient reason for this innovation, particularly when there were already in existence halves, quarters and eighth parts of the *Dām* and *Tanka*, based on the current quarternary scale.

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1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX p. 219.
2. *P. M. C.* Intro. p. XXVI.
3. *Num. Supp.* XXVII p. 140.
4. *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, p. 112,
5. *Ibid*, p. 113.

To this, it has been suggested by the learned scholar, that it might have been issued with a view to provide for copper currency as complete a series of fractional pieces as existed for the rupee. It is true that we have decimal system of fractional division of the silver coins side by side with the quarternary system. But we see that it was not there without any reason.

We know that the silver rupee was equivalent to 40 Dām. It could not be possible to transact all business with the fractional coins having value of 20, 10, 5 and 2½ *dāms*. For the transactions of 2, 3, 4, 7 or 9 dams, these fractional coins were of little use. In the absence of the decimal division of rupee, one would have had to deal with the heavy copper dāms, which could not be carried easily to market in a large quantity. To surmoūnt these difficulties the decimal division of the rupee might have been issued. There must have been a similar reason for the issue of the copper decimal series.

We are told by Abul Fazl that for the purpose of calculation, the *dām* was divided into 25 parts, each of which was called a *Jētal*. He further informs us that it was an imaginary division and was used only for accounting. To me it appears that this imaginary division of the currency, which was meant only for paper accounting, created difficulty in practical transactions, and to meet that difficulty these pieces were issued in the later part of the reign. The *Adhelah*, *Paulah* and *Damaris* failed to square the transactions in terms of *Jētals* and therefore the necessity of issuing new fractional coins arose. The new coins *tankis*, therefore, were issued in the denominations of one-fifth, two-fifth and four-fifth of *dām*, which were equal to five, ten and twenty *Jētals*. As such the unit of these coins is *Jētal* and not *Dām* or *Tanka*.

A RARE COPPER COIN OF SIKANDAR LODI.

BY PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA, ASST. EDITOR, AJ, BANARAS.

W. H. Valentine in his *Copper coins of India* has described three copper coins of Sikandar Lodi–two from British Museum and one from D. F. Howarth, the author of the *Colonial coins and tokens*[1]. But Nelson Wright was not aware of any copper coin of this king, since he had remarked in his *Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* that Sikandar Lodi went a step further than Bahlul in confining his currency exclusively to billon.[2] It seems that the copper coins of this king are very rare. As such Śri Ganesh Chaube, a Hindi scholar of village Bangari (P. O. Pipra Kothi, Dist Champaran, Behar) was fortunate to pick up recently a copper coin of this king from the shop of a bania at Chanpatia Bazar (Bettiah sub-division, Champaran). It is now in his collection and I am describing it with his kind permission.

Metal-copper ; weight-about 48 rattis ; size-·7″; date 913 A. H.

Obverse	Reverse
(الم) تو (كل علے)	فى زمن
(ال) رحمن	(ال) مومن (ين)
سكند (رساه)	(ا) مير
بهلول (ساه)	حلدت حلاف (ته)
(ملتان)	٩١٣ **Pl. IV. B., 4.**

The legend is the same as seen on the billon coins but without mint name. It is inscribed in a distinctive angular script. The coins of this type, in billon, are known to be issued concurrently with Delhi *tankah* since 900 A. H. This type was probably at first a camp issue, but when Sikandar transferred the seat of the government to Agra, which he founded in 911 A. H. (1505 A. D.) this issue became common and issues struck in Delhi appeared to have been abandoned.

The two coins of British Museum, described by Valentine, are dated 89x and 912 (doubtful) and that of Howarth is dated 903. The present coin has the clear numerals, though truncated, as 913 and thus is the only definitely known copper issue of Agra.

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1. pp. 166-67 2. p. 260.

BARAMATI, A NEW MUGHAL MINT

By Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, M.A.,LL.B., Moulvi Fazil,
Curator, Hyderabad (Dn.) Museum.

An interesting find of Mughal coins, consisting of 80 silver pieces, was recently received from Aurangabad District as a Treasure Trove. They were discovered while excavating the foundations for the construction of a hospital at Pachod in the Shahgadh Jagir. The find was first reported to me by Dr. Gladys I. Jeffree of the Mission Hospital, Pachod.

The coins were secured for the Hyderabad Museum through the kind offices of Mr. Mohd. Abdullah, H. C. S., First Taluqdar, Aurangabad. The Mughal Emperors, Shah Jehan, Aurangazeb, Jehandar Shah, Shah Alam, Shah Jehan II, Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah are represented in the hoard. The coins of the hoard display a considerable variety of mints which are well known to numismatists. However, one of the coins belonging to Muhammad Shah (1131-1161 A.H.=1719-1748 A.D.) represents a new Mughal mint. Two similar coins have been noticed by Dr. Pannalal, C.S.I.,C.I.E.,I.C.S., in this *Journal*, *ante*, Vol. VIII, Part II, on pages 175-6, Plate XII, Nos. 5 & 6. The mint has been read by him as Taramati, which has not been identified and could not be traced in the Imperial Gazetteer of India. The letter ت or ṭ is however doubtful on Dr. Pannalal's coins. The coin, which is being published by me, does not bear dots of ت and the mint name has been read by Mr. Abdul Wali Khan, Keeper of the Coins, Hyderabad Museum, as Baramati, which has been identified by him as a town situated 18° 9′ N, 74° 34′, bearing the same name in Bhimthadi Taluq of Poona District, about fifty miles south-east of Poona city. The reading of the mint name of the coins published by Dr. Parnalal has obviously to be corrected. The reading of the name and its identification are further corroborated by nearness to the mint of the places of the find of the coins. The two coins published by Dr. Pannalal were discovered at Brahmapuri near Kolhapur, about 120 miles south of Baramati; while the coin which is being published by me was discovered at Pachod, in Shahgadh Jagir, Pattan Taluq, Aurangabad District, about 200 miles north-east of Baramati. The coins do not seem to have travelled long from their mint. Thus a new name to the list of the Mughal mints is definitely added.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India unfortunately does not contain much information regarding Baramati. In order to secure further information regarding this place I had requested the Collector of Poona to help me in this respect. He had kindly enquired from the offices of the Superintendent of the Historical Society of Poona and sent the following note to me :—

"In the town of Baramati (Dist. Poona) there is an old dilapidated land fortress, known as the "Kot" of Babuji Naik. It was built by Babuji Naik (Joshi), the reputed money lender of the Peshwas, in 1743. He had very close matrimonial ties with the Peshwas. He died in 1780".

From this description it is evident that during the time when the coins were struck at Baramati in the name of Muhammad Shah, this place enjoyed a unique fiscal position in Western part of the Deccan and that there is no wonder if coins were minted there.

The description of the coin is as follows :—

Size	·95 "
Weight	176·5 grains
Shape	Slightly oval.
Date	Between 1131 & 1149 A. H.
	1719 & 1737 A. D.

Reading.

Obverse	*Reverse*
۱۱؟؟ محمد شاہ لے	مانوس
بادشاہ غازے	میمنت
	سنة جلوس
سکة مبارع	(ضر) ب
	بارامتي

Pl. IV. B, 5

The first two figures of the date are 11 and the last two figures are doubtful. They may be anything between 31 and 49. The regnal year is missing.

Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal has sent the following note on the above paper for publication.

The letter ت or te is quite distinct on Dr. Pannalal's coins, whereas the letter ب or ba is most doubtful on Khwaja Muhammad's coin, because of the absence of a dot below the stroke for ب. Therefore the assumption that the mint name is Baramati and not Taramati is not convincing. The existence of a town of the name of Baramati in

Poona district is a poor argument for the mint name to be taken as Baramati.

Besides it is possible that Taramati was the original name which underwent a change and is now called Baramati.

[Dr. Pannalal agrees with the above view. During the 18th century, when the coin under discussion was issued, the town is not known to have changed its name from Taramati to Baramati. *A. S. A.*]

MR. KHWAJA MUHAMMAD AHMAD'S REPLY.

In Muslim numismatics and epigraphy weight cannot be attached to the presence or absence of dots. Sometimes they are only ornamental, sometimes they may belong to a letter placed at a distance and sometimes they are absolutely meaningless. The words have to be read and interpreted in an intelligible manner. The dots which have been presumed to belong to the letter ت on Dr. Pannalal's coin are not to be found on the similar coin which is being published by me. It is likely that one of them may be of ض and the other of ب in the word ضرب. Their attribution, therefore, to the letter ت is not correct. The coins were definitely minted in the western part of the Deccan, and the fiscal and political importance of Baramati at the time when the coins were struck cannot be ignored. It rests with Dr. Pannalal and Mr. Prayag Dayal to prove that the original name of Baramati was Taramati. Even if that is proved, it does not alter the identification made by Mr. Abdul Wali Khan. Personally, I am convinced about the correctness of the reading and also of the identification made by Mr. Abdul Wali Khan. I am sure it does not allow of any doubt.

THE ORIGIN OF SAMUDRAGUPTA'S STANDARD TYPE COIN.[1]

BY B. S. SITHOLEY, LUCKNOW

Many historians and numismatists adhere to the view that Gupta coins were not a local development in Magadha but originated "in a period when the Guptas had come into closer contact with the late Great Kushāns whose eastern (Punjab) coinage they copy."[2] The coin, which is taken to be so derived, is Samudragupta's Standard type, which is regarded as the earliest form of his coins and, consequently, the earliest of Gupta issues. The close resemblance of the type to the types of the late Kushāns is obviously the basis of the theory. In the absence, however, of definite evidence this view of the origin of Gupta coinage cannot be acceptable, and the present article is concerned with showing its untenability.[3]

In accordance with this theory the King-Queen type coin of Chandragupta I is not attributable to him, but held to have been issued by Samudragupta in commemoration of his father and his own Lichchhavi descent. It is argued that no parallel existed for this joint coinage, and that it was "contrary to all numismatic laws for a series to open with such a remarkable development from its prototype."[4] The crucial point, therefore, is that if Chandragupta I issued his own coins, the alleged copying of Samudragupta's Standard type becomes a later event, which is fatal to the theory.

The amazing conception of a successor king issuing coins in the name of his deceased predecessor, in addition to his own, is one that would constitute a real defiance of numismatic laws. Numismatists have challenged this view and produced some very cogent arguments to expose its fallacy, but the line of attack has invariably been other than frontal. It is very well, for instance, to point out that it is against Indian culture for a son to commemorate the romance of his father. No such arguments, though absolutely sound, are really needed when concrete evidence is already

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1. I am grateful to Dr. A.S. Altekar for valuable advice in the preparation of this paper.

2. J. Allan: *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. lxvi.

[3. In *J. A. S. B.*, 1937 *N.S.*, pp. 105-11 I have adduced further arguments in support of the view here advocated by Mr. Shitholey. *A. S. A.*]

4. Allan, *Ibid*, p. lxviii.

available. The very fact that Chandragupta I's coin type bears his name and the devices on it are absolutely different from those appearing on any type of Samudragupta's coins, —a fact that cannot be got over—, is alone a indisputable proof of its being his own issue; for if this is not valid, the attribution of any coin to a king bearing his name will be equally invalid, or at any rate subject to suspicion. This cannot be avoided. The joint (King-Queen) coin type of Chandragupta I created a precedent, which is one of the several examples that demonstrate Gupta originality. The gratuitous complication was evidently introduced to circumvent an awkward element militating against the theory.

Since Chandragupta I immediately preceded Samudragupta and no coins of an earlier Gupta king have hitherto been discovered, the King-Queen type must be regarded as the first issue of Gupta coinage. The importance attached to the Standard type thus recedes into the background and becomes restricted to this type being possibly the leading type of Samudragupta's series, and the extent of influence, if any, it exercised over subsequent Gupta types. Before this can be examined, it is necessary to determine whether the Standard type was an imitated type, or whether its similarity to the late Kushān type resulted from other causes.

Chronologically, the Kushān type being anterior to the development of the Standard type, there can be a case for the latter borrowing from the former. But mere precedence cannot be the final and decisive factor, unless certain specific conditions under which only borrowings become possible are satisfied. In the first place, direct or indirect contact, without which a borrowing could neither be conceivable nor feasible, is essential. Secondly, a felt need for borrowing should exist. Thirdly, the thing borrowed or imitated must possess features of attractiveness or utility in so striking a measure as to make their appeal irresistible. Fourthly, there should be the element of compulsion of one kind or another. If such conditions are not satisfied, we should find indiscriminate borrowings by people of every country from every other country. That such wholesale borrowing never occurs is quite obvious.

There is nothing to show that the Guptas came into contact, close or otherwise, with the late Kushāns until Samudragupta brought them under his suzerainty. No Kushān coins have been found to be present in the finds of Gupta coins, indicating that no previous commercial or other relations existed between their two kingdoms. And

there is no reason to suppose that Samudragupta deferred coining until he got into touch with the Kushāns.

On ascending the throne Samudragupta apparently did not immediately leap into saddle and gallop forth on his conquests, which covered a major portion of India and must have involved his absence from the capital for some considerable time. It is reasonable to assume that mustering and organizing his army, deciding his strategy, and planning his operations must have involved a good many months. Even Chenghiz Khan, a marauder with no other aim than pillage and destruction, "planned a campaign to its remotest details and discussed it for weeks with his marshalls before setting out."[1] Meanwhile the affairs of the State could not be allowed to remain at a standstill. In olden days the issue of coinage was testimony to the assumption of kingship,[2] a symbol of prestige, an assurance to the subjects of the exchequer being sound and of the stability in the kingdom. Provision for payment to the expeditionary forces was also required. All this, together with the non-abundance of Chandragupta I's currency,—very few of his coins, and only of one type, have been found—, must have necessitated striking his coinage without delay; though which types were minted first it is not possible to say definitely. It may be taken as almost certain that Samudragupta did issue his coins prior to departure on his expeditions.

This would make the Standard type coin not his first but a later issue. Support to this is available from another source. On the basis of coin legends, which could not have been compared at random, being in the nature of formal and recorded state proclamations, the Standard type coin, in which the king's victories are stated (perhaps rhetorically) to extend over a century of battles, must mark the end of his campaigns. The Kushān province was apparently the last to be brought under control after Samudragupta's sweep of the Southern and Western kingdoms. The Lyrist type, naturally not concerned with conquests, probably opened Samudragupta's series, music being an accomplishment that attracts one much in youth. The Tiger slayer type may have followed next, hunting again being a pastime for the youth. The Battle-axe type, declaring the king victorious, perhaps refers to a few battles successfully fought, and may represent the beginning of his

1. Harold Lamb : *Tamerlane, the Earth-Shaker*, p. 255.

[2. The opinion expressed here is untenable. A number of famous kings like Chandragupta and Aśoka of the Mauryan dynasty, Pushyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty, Pravarasena I and Govinda III of the Vākāṭaka and the Rāshtrakūta dynasties did not issue any coins bearing their names. *A. S. A.*]

military exploits. The Standard type logically comes next. The Aśvamedha type is the result to his conquests. In the Archer type, which declares the king as having after his meritorious labours qualified for heaven, that is to say, the king's settling down after accomplishing all he wished to, was apparently the last type issued.

The theory that the Standard type is the result of imitation presupposes, first, Samudragupta's postponement of his coinage to the latter part of his reign. We have seen that there were no grounds for it. But, even assuming that Samudragupta struck no coins until he saw the Kushān prototypes, it cannot be said that, with Chandragupta I's coin-type already in existence, he did not know how to coin and must go out in search of ideas to, of all peoples, the Kushāns, who were only petty chieftains ruling over a conglomeration of small principalities and the condition of whose decadent arts and culture was reflected in their degraded and crude coins.[1] Gifted as the Guptas were, as is proved not only by the remarkable originality of Chandragupta I's coin-type, the very first Gupta issue, but by the marvellous creative imagination, artistic sensibility, and perfect technique of all Gupta coinage, it would be strange indeed if they felt an overpowering need for imitation.

The Kushān types possessed no outstanding merits. On the contrary, they were more likely to repel than attract. And the standing-king-seated-goddess design could hardly be called very original. It was only a common motif which could have been produced anywhere in a social and political order recognizing the king (and the queen) as the ruler (s) of the people. This will be further touched upon later.

As Samudragupta was not subordinate to the late Kushāns, there was no compulsion of a political or other kind on the Guptas to induce them to copy the Kushān motifs.

None of the afore-mentioned conditions, without which no borrowing can possibly take place, being satisfied, even to a nominal extent, it becomes exceedingly difficult to understand why the Guptas should imitate from the late Kushāns. Chronology here ceases to have a bearing, because the circumstances under which it can carry weight do not exist. It is far too facile to assume a borrowing simply

[1. The history of ancient Indian numismatics does however show that sometimes the conquerors adopted a degraded type of the conquered. The Gupta artists were gifted and original, but they adopted the degraded coin type of the silver currency of the Western Kshatrapas including its unmeaning and distorted Greek letters *A. S. A.*]

because of priority of time. A different explanation must be sought. A possible one is suggested hereunder.

The Standard type was presumably an altogether independent creation. Sometimes the same idea does occur to different parties widely removed from and without any knowledge of one another. Two instances may be given. Certain Indian sculptural motifs have been discovered among the sculptures of the Mayas of Central America and are met with nowhere else. The relevant Indian sculptures are more than a thousand years older than the Maya ones. By the time America was discovered, Maya civilisation had become extinct. Did the Mayas borrow from India, despite the fact that there was no communication at that time between the old world and the new ? Again, the boomerang, a wooden weapon, has been known to be peculiar to the Australian aborigines. Anthropologists have, however, found that it is also widely used by the aboriginal tribes of India. Dr. Oppert says : "The general belief is that the boomerang is a weapon peculiar to the Australians, but this is by no means the case. It is well-known in many parts of India, specially in its Southern Peninsula. The Tamulian, Maravar, and Kallar employ it when hunting, and throw it after deer···"[1] The boomerang, not found in any other parts of the world, has been in use from prehistoric times. We cannot invoke chronology here; and since no land connection existed between Australia and India, separated by thousands of miles of ocean, except in the geological past when the human race had not appeared on the face of the Earth, can we say, in a general way, that the Indians borrowed the boomerang from the Australians, or vice versa ? The only rational explanation in both cases—the sculptures and the boomerang—can be that they were independently created or invented.

These are far-flung and rare cases. In ordinary ones, such as formally depicting a king and a queen, there is always to hand the daily experience to draw upon. The seat on which a woman sits becomes a throne when she is queen, and a man standing with a weapon or other symbol of royalty in hand can answer for a king. In fact, such conceptions are the common heritage of all civilised races, and have come down from a primordial racial practice still continued. There is thus nothing against a common occurrence being represented in a more or less identical fashion. It could hardly be otherwise. A horse-rider is normally shown mounted on a horse, and this is

1. Quoted T. N. Mukharji : *The Art-Manufactures of India*, 216.

how he would be depicted everywhere. Shall we be justified in inferring from two such representations that one of them must be original and the other necessarily derived ? Socio-political organisation in Northern India during the Kushān and Gupta periods, and even later, had many features in common, the outcome of race-traditions handed down from antiquity. Basic conceptions were, so to say, in the air, for anybody with imagination to give them a concrete representational form, which was bound to be more or less alike. After all, the late Kushāns invented a new device (seated goddess) for the reverse of their coins, without influence from any source, as by the time of Kanishka all foreign influence, Greek or Roman, had disappeared from Indian coins.[1] If, therefore, the late Kushāns could invent, is there any reason against the Guptas doing likewise ? And did not the latter invent devices for their other coins ? The superior execution of the Standard type is an indication against copying, since copying implies a faithful representation, point to point of the original.

The only influence the Standard type exercised on Gupta coinage was the continuance of the reverse device on a few subsequent types. The device, however, soon faded out with the replacement of the secular representation by a religious one. The so-called throned-goddess was apparently the queen,[2] whose disappearance with her throne made way for the goddess Lakshmī with her seat on a full-blown lotus. The reverse of Chandragupta I's coins shows the lady seated on a lion couchant. A queen could sit like that on a lion shot by the king. It is a case of warrantable pride in and a graceful tribute to the king's prowess, and is very human. Since, on the principles of religious iconography, Lakshmī's seat or vehicle is not a lion, it has been suggested that the lady seated on the lion may be recognized as Ambikā or Durgā. This seems to be stretching religious interpretation rather too far. After all, the Guptas were not wholly religion-ridden but had a secular life too, the latter probably much more. Lakshmī appears only where the seat is the lotus-flower; in other cases it is simpler and more reasonable to identify the lady seated on the throne, or wicker-stool (*mūhrā*), or standing, as the king's consort. In Hindu culture the queen is generally associated with the king,

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[1. This is not correct. The coins of the later Kushāns and of the Western Kshatrapas show considerable foreign influence. *A. S. A.*]

[2. This appears very improbable. If it was the representation of the queen, one would have expected her name to appear. It must however be admitted that on the Aśvamedha type, where the reverse is generally admitted as showing the queen, her name is not given. *A. S. A.*]

particularly in religious ceremonies, but is not separately mentioned, which may account for her not being named on Gupta coins, except on the coins of Chandragupta I, which were specifically of the joint coin-type.

The object the lady holds in the left hand is assumed to be a cornucopiae, to be in line with the Roman practice. But it is undoubtedly a half-blown lotus flower viewed sideways[1]. All Eastern peoples have been fond of flowers, and their literature is full of references to them. The lotus and the Champaka of India, the rose of Persia, and the chrysanthemum of Japan have always been most highly extolled. Flowers have been in use in India from very early times both for personal adornment and ritual worship, and are thus intimately related to the social and religious life of the people. To the orthodox a queen without pearls, jewellery and flowers, mostly in the shape of garlands, would be unimaginable. The lotus the queen holds is not *Lotus Corniculatus* but *Nelumbium Speciosum*, which, like the Australian *Nymphaea gigantea*, "produces flowers with a diameter of 25 centimeters[2]." This variety extends from India to the Far East, and was conventionalised during the early Buddhist period, and in that form is so often found in Indian architecture, sculpture and painting, where it is represented from all angles and in all sizes. It is the Padma or Kamala of ancient literature. The cornucopiae, on the other hand, was a goat's horn, spirally twisted and filled with corn-sheaves, fruits and flowers, which even on conventionalisation would differ sufficiently from a large lotus flower to be recognizable. Since, as already stated, Roman influence on Indian coins had ceased early, there is no longer any occasion for confusing the lotus with the cornucopiae. This confusion vanishes when the flower in the hand of Lakshmī is realistically represented. The larger realism of Gupta art did not favour much conventionalisation.

Incidentally, the Standard type is looked upon as the commonest and most popular of Samudragupta's coinage. As to popularity, it must be remembered that this type not being repeated by his successors, as some other types were, can hardly be said to have caught popular imagination[3]. The

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[1. I do not think that this is a tenable view. The object in the hand of the Goddess on the reverse of the early Gupta coins shows a greater resemblance to cornucopiae than to a half blown lotus looked at sideways *A. S A.*]

2. Anton Kerner von Marilaum: *The Natural History of Plants*, vol. II, 185.

[3. There can be no doubt that the Standard type was the most popular one during the reign of Samudragupta. In the Bayana hoard, the coins of the type are four times more numerous than the coins of the other types of this emperor put together. *A. S. A.*]

one Standard type coin of Chandragupta II in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras, and another spoken about[1], can only be regarded as experimental, the type being abandoned as archaic. The privilege of popularity manifestly belongs to the Archer type of which Samudragupta seems to have issued only a few coins late in his reign, for it is the type which all his successors without exception copied. The abundance of the Archer type, of Chandragupta II signifies a clamour for the type which Samudragupta was unable to meet fully.

The prevailing theory of the origin and derivation of Gupta coinage, hinging on the assumption of the Standard type as being an imitated type, requires, owing to its being involved and apparently tendentious, fuller critical examination, and unless and until more positive data to substantiate it is forthcoming, it cannot be considered as meriting acceptance.

4. *J.N.S.I.* pt. II, December 1947, p. 146-149. [I have shown here that the Standard type coin, attributed to Chandragupta II, was most probably an issue of the later Kushāṇa king Bhadra.]

KING KĪRTTI OF THE COINS AND A MEDIÆVAL INSCRIPTION.

By Roma Niyogi, M. A., Calcutta.

Smith while compiling the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum classed the coin described below, with the coins of the group of Rājput dynasties, who occupied the various parts of Northern India during the period extending from about the middle of the 10th century to the 13th century A. D. The provenance of this coin is not mentioned in the Catalogue.

The coin may be described as follows[1] :—

Metal......Silver.

Weight......50·5 grains.

Size......·65,"

Obverse...Rude outline of horseman with standard to right ; legend—*Ki(r)tti.*

Reverse...Rude outline of recumbent bull to left ; legend *Samantadeva.*

Pl. IV B, 2-3

I have followed the general description of Smith with however a slight modification in the obverse legend ; as I have not found any trace of the prefix *Śrī*, I have omitted it. The weight of the coin reminds us of the ancient Purāṇa or the 'punch-marked' coins, which though theoretically 32 *rattis* or 56 grains in weight, are usually found to weigh only about 53 grains in most cases.

Three other billon specimens of this type were owned by Thomas and two of them were published by him[2]. He tentatively described them as follows[3] :—

Obverse—Horseman ; *Śrī Kīlli...Deva.*

Reverse—Bull ; ...*pāla Śrī Sama.*

The fifth known specimen was in the possession of Cunningham, who has described it in his *Coins of Mediæval India* as a billon piece, with obverse legend *Kīl* and reverse legend *pāla Śrī Samantadeva.*

It is well known that in ancient and mediæval India, coin-dies were sometimes too big for the metal blank with the

1. Smith, *C. C. I. M.* Vol I. pp. 257 & 263; pl. XXVI. 22. The photographs published herewith are due to the courtesy of the Archæological Survey of India.

2. *J. R. A. S.*, Vol IX. 1844, p. 177, figs. 17 & 18.

3. *Chronicle of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 59.

result that, parts of the marginal legend and symbols were very often left out. In such cases comparison of a number of specimens helps us to restore the original legends and devices. Here also from a comparison of these five known specimens the name of the issuer can be restored as *Śrī Kīrttipāladeva.*

It may be suggested that *Śrī Kīrttipāladeva* of these coins is identical with the *King Kīrttipāladeva* of the Lucknow Museum copper-plate inscription of V. S. 1167 expired.[1]

This inscription is a land grant of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramamāheśvara Śrī Kīrttipāladeva, who meditated on the feet of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramamāheśvara Śrī Vikramapāladeva, who had acquired the lordship of 'Uttarasamudra' or 'Saumyasindhu'[2] by the prowess of his own arms. Vikramapāla was the son of Bhuvanapāla, who was born in the Solar dynasty. The grant was made on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna on a Saturday in the Vikrama Saṁvat 1167, corresponding to Saturday, the 11th February, 1111 A.D. The villages granted were Dambauli and Vikara, situated in the Darada-Gaṇḍakī-deśa. These localities so far have not been identified; but the word Darada-Gaṇḍakī provides the only possible clue and it has already been suggested by Kielhorn that in some way these villages were connected with the river Gaṇḍakī, flowing in Bihar.

Darada is the name of a tribe situated in the extreme north of India and it is very difficult to connect it in any way with the river Gaṇḍakī, except on the presumption that a portion of the tribe migrated to a region near the river Gaṇḍakī; but as yet no evidence is forthcoming to prove such a migration. According to *Medinī, darat* however means a mountain. If the reading is corrected as 'Darad-Gaṇḍakīdeśa', it would either refer to the land between the northern mountain and the river Gaṇḍakī or the country near the mountain ranges and the Gaṇḍakī. The north-eastern portion of Gorakhpur district fulfills the latter condition and the grant also was found in that district. Again, the name of the region, which Vikramapāla is said to have won by the prowess of his own arms, i. e. Saumyasindhu, is remarkable; Saumya, according to *Śabdamālā* is the name of (unidentified) mountain, while Sindhu

1. *E.I.* VII, pp. 93 ff.
2. In the *praśasti* section of the grant Vikramapāla is praised as *nijabhujārjjita-Saumyasindhu-rājādhipatyah* and in the grant section as *nijabhujārjjitottarasamudrādhipatyaḥ.*

in feminine means river. From these discussions it seems probable that Kīrttipāla's kingdom was bounded on the north by the mountain ranges and on the east by the river Gaṇḍakī. The full imperial title assumed by the king indicates that he was a sovereign ruler, which fact again tallies with his identification with the issuer of the aforementioned coins.

In the first quarter of the twelfth century A. D., the most important dynasty in the Madhyadeśa was that of the Gāhaḍavālas, who were probably the western and the southern neighbours of Kīrttipāla. As the last known inscription of king Madana's reign was dated in V. S. 1166,[1] and the first known inscription[2] of Govinda's reign was in V. S. 1171, V. S. 1167, the known year of Kīrttipāla might fall during the reign period of either of these Gāhaḍavāla kings. According to the inscriptions of the dynasty both Chandra, the first ruler and Madana, his son, held sway not only over Kānyakubja and Vārāṇasī but also over Ayodhyā and presumably over the whole tract upto the river Ghargharā. The assumption that this river was the natural frontier of the Gāhaḍavālas at this period shows that the land between the Ghargharā and the Gaṇḍakī could have been the place of another kingdom. To the north-eastern part of this region, probably after the fall of the Gorakhpur branch of the Kalachuris, Vikramapāla founded a small kingdom and glorified it as 'Uttarasamudra' or 'Saumyasindhu'; there is no clue to ascertain the extent of this kingdom, but it is certain that it did not cross the river Ghargharā. The similarity of type and general execution of the coins issued by his son, Kīrttipāla, with the coins of Madanapāla Gāhaḍavāla, is in confirmation with the proximity of time and place of these two kings.

Nothing more is known about Kīrttipāla or his dynasty, but its ultimate fate can easily be guessed from a study of the Gāhaḍavāla records. Madanapāla was succeeded by his valiant son Govindachandra, with whom the era of aggrandisement of this dynasty began. The find-spots of two of his grants lie between the Ghargharā and the Gaṇḍakī. Don Buzurg grant of V. S. 1176 and Lar grant of V. S. 1202[3]; the place names mentioned in these grants have not yet been identified. It is however quite probable that the strong arms of the Gāhaḍavāla monarch reached the northern mountains after overpowering Kīrttipāladeva and his dynasty.

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1. Rahan Grant; *Ind, Ant.* XVIII, pp. 14-19.
2. Kamauli Grant. *E. I*, IV, pp 101-104.
3. *E. I.*, XVIII, pp. 218-24; *E. I.* VII, pp, 98-100.

A RARE PUNCH-MARKED COIN.

By V. P. Rode, M. A., Nagpur.

The coin is from a hoard of 65 silver punch-marked coins received for the coin cabinet of the Nagpur Museum from the Deputy Commissioner, Bhandara, in 1878. The coins of this hoard belong to classes 2 and 6 of the punch-marked coins in the British Museum.

The coin under discussion belongs to this hoard. It bears on its obverse a symbol hitherto not noticed on any punch-marked coin. It is the Owl. The only bird, so far definitely identified on the punch-marked coins is Peacock, which is seen in the composite symbol, Peacock-on-hill. There is another symbol, bird-on-tree, but the bird is not identified there. The Ulūka or Owl is, therefore, a new bird-symbol disclosed for the first time on the punch-marked coins.

The five symbols on the obverse of this coin are the Sun (?) the *Shaḍarachakra*, Crescent-on-hill, Four fish in the tank and the Ulūka (Owl). The reverse is blank.

The obverse of the coin is illustrated in **Pl. IV. B, 1**

NEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS.

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University.

NEW SATAVĀHANA COINS.

The Bhārata Itihāsa Maṇḍala, Poona, is to be congratulated upon the discovery of some new Sātavāhana coins, that was made during the trial excavations carried on by it at Karhad in Satara district, which was a famous centre of learning during the first millennium A.D. The excavations could be carried out only for about three weeks. They have however led to the discovery of the foundation of some ancient structures in the mud fort situated at the strategic place on the confluence of the Krishna and the Koyana rivers. Among the antiquities recovered are some coins also, three of which deserve to be brought to the notice of the readers of this *Journal.* One of them is a small coin, having the Horse on the obverse and Bow-and-Arrow on the reverse. The coin is uninscribed and so cannot be definitely attributed. Both the Horse and the Bow-and-Arrow are motifs well known to be occurring on the Sātavāhana coinage, but the present is the first piece, where they are seen to occur together. Karhad is close to Kolhapur, where the Bow-and-Arrow type coins of the Sātavāhanas were found. It appears that along with this well-known type, the Sātavāhanas also issued another type, where the horse occurring on the south Indian coins was associated with the Bow-and-Arrow occurring on the Kolhapur coins.

A second coin found at Karhad seems to have migrated to it from distant Mālwā, for it bears Ujjayinī symbol on one side and a running Elephant on the other. The speciality of the coin lies in a taurine being attached to each of the knob of the Ujjayinī symbol.

The third coin worth mentioning here has Lion standing on one side and Three-arched-Hill on river on the other. It bears a striking resemblance to the coin of Mūla Sātakarṇi published by me in *Num. Suppl.*, XLVI, pp. 15-19. It is probably a piece issued at Chitaldurg in Mysore state.

The fact that coins issued in Mālwā and Mysoṛe should be found at Karhad, midway between them, shows that it was a famous centre of learning, Brahmanas from which were visiting these distant places.

Owing to some technical difficulties the excavations at Karhad had to be discontinued within three weeks. It is

to be hoped that these difficulties will be removed and the Maṇḍala will be enabled to continue its work, which will throw light on Sātavāhana history and coinage.

A NEW VARIETY OF KUSHĀNA COINS.

Kushāna coins with Śiva standing by the side of the Bull were well known. Recently two gold Kushāṇa coins have been found showing, King standing and offering sacrifice on the obverse and a Deity standing by Elephant on the reverse. One of these coins is purchased by the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, and the other by the Benares Hindu University. A paper on these coins will soon be published in this *Journal*.

A NEW TYPE OF KUSHANĀNO-ROMAN COIN.

The Archæological Department of the Union Government is to be congratulated upon the discovery of a very interesting gold coin in its excavations at Shishupalagadh near Bhuvaneshvara in Orissa. The obverse of this coin has a Roman bust and a fragmentary legend in Greek script, and the reverse shows King standing as on Kushāṇa coins, offering oblations on altar by right hand and holding a sceptre in the left. There is a Brāhmī inscription on this side, giving the name of the issuer, who is described as *Maharajadha*, i.e. Mahārāja-rājādhirāja, as in several Kushāṇa inscriptions. His name is indistinct but appears to be Damadhamadhara.

The present coin belongs to the 3rd century A. D. and would suggest that some local rulers in Orissa, probably of the Muruṇḍa dynasty, were issuing coins, imitating the types on the Roman and the Kushāṇa coins, which were both sometimes reaching the province. It is to be hoped that the excavations will be pursued further, for they will throw considerable light on the history of Orissa prior to the rise of the Guptas.

RHINOCEROS-SLAYER TYPE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I.

The readers of this *Journal* already are aquainted with the discovery of four coins of the Rhinoceros-slayer type of Kumāragupta I, which were found in the Bayana Hoard of Gupta coins. A fifth coin of this type has been recently found, agreeing in all respects with the four coins already known to us. This new coin was originally discovered somewhere in Sitapur district of the U. P. and purchased by a shroff there for Rs 70. Later on he took it to Lucknow, where four coin-dealers purchased it in common for Rs 500. It

was subsequently bought by the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, for Rs. 2,250. We shall soon publish a paper on this coin.

GOLD COINS OF BUDHAGUPTA

The absence of the gold coins of the powerful Gupta Emperor Budhagupta, who had ruled for about 20 years and issued silver coins, was a very mysterious circumstance. The present writer had tried to explain the mystery by suggesting that the gold coins of Prakāśāditya might be attributed to Budhagupta, as it was impossible to believe that he should not have issued any gold coinage. Mr. S. K. Sarasvati had suggested that the coin in *B. M. C. G. D.*, Pl. XXI, 23, which had been attributed to Puragupta, should be attributed to Budhagupta, as the legend under the left arm appeared more like *Budha* than *Pura* But as the letters were blurred, one could not be sure as to whether the reading of Mr. Allan was to be preferred to that of Mr. Sarasvati or vice versa.

The whole mystery has been now completely solved by the discovery of two gold coins, giving clearly the name Budha under the left arm. They are of the same type as the coin in *B. M. C. G. D.*, Pl. XXI, 23 and show that Mr. Saraswati's conjecture was right. One of these two coins has been purchased by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares, and the other by the Benares Hindu University. The legend on the coin in the Bharat Kala Bhavan is absolutely clear and distinct; that on the Hindu University coin is nearly so. The Hindu University coin has also a circular legend. These two coins now make it absolutely certain that Budhagupta had issued gold coins with the title of Vikrama and the heavy weight coins with no legend under the left arm and with the reverse legend *Śrīvikrama*, published in *B.M.C.G.D.* Pl. XXI, 24-26 are probably to be attributed also to Budhagupta. Both these coins will be soon published in this *Journal.*

COIN HOARDS IN THE U. P. DURING 1946-7.

Six hoards of coins were disposed of by the Coins Committee of the Province. All the coins were either in silver or billon, except one Mughal coin, which was in gold, and found in Bareily district. The most interesting among these hoards was the one found in the village Rasra in Ballia district, consisting of 14 coins of the Pathan kings Nasiruddin Muhammad and Allauddin Muhammad Shah, which have been all acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. These coins were in good condition and supplied pieces necessary to fill the known gaps in dates of the coins

in that Museum. This hoard contained an interesting coin of Sultan Illyas Khan of Bengal issued from the mint of Sunaragaon. The hoard found in Bilari in the district of Moradabad consisted of 87 silver coins of Pathan kings, including those of Nasiruddin Mahmud I, Ghiyasuddin Balban and Muizuddin Kaikobad. Coins of this hoard supplying fresh dates have been acquired for the Provincial Museum. The hoard of 157 coins found in the village of Bhaogaon in Aligarh district consisted of the issues of later Mughal emperors, Aurangzeb, Farruckshiyar, Muhmad Shah and Ahmad Shah Bahadur. Coins of Ahmad Shah Bahadur from Islamabad mint have been acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. The hoard found in Gonda district consisted of billon coins of the Pathan kings, which were of the ordinary type. A hoard of 29 silver coins of the East India Company was discovered in Allahabad district, which contained no specimens of importance.

COIN HOARDS IN THE U.P. DURING 1945-6.

During the year 1945-6, six hoards were recovered in the U.P., consisting of two gold, 82 silver and 248 billon coins. The Barabanki hoard consisted of 13 silver coins of the Mughals, the Allahabad hoard, of 9 silver coins of king Ferdinand VII of Spain, the Luckuow hoard, of 26 silver Mughal coins, the Basti hoard, of 34 silver coins of the same rulers, Fatehpur hoard, of 2 gold Mughal coins. A hoard of billon coins, numbering 248, was also found in the Basti district. Among the noteworthy coins acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, were the two gold coins found in Fatehpur district. The first of these was an issue from the Ahmadnagar mint in the regnal year 9 and the second from the mint of Aurangabad issued in the regnal year 13. The hoard of nine silver coins of king Ferdinand VII of Spain was found in the village Alemenand, Police station Koh Khiraj, district Allahabad. They bear dates from 1806 to 1817 A.D. and must obviously have been brought by some merchant or tourist as curioes. The coins are 1·55″ in diameter and 460 grains in weight. Among the 248 billon coins found in the hoard in the Basti district there were some bilingual coins of Alauddin Muhamad Shah II Khilji, bearing on the obverse the legend Sri Sultan Allauddin and on the reverse the date in the Nāgarī numerals ranging from A.H. 697 to 711.

COINS DISCOVERED IN HYDERABAD STATE.

The Hyderabad Museum received 882 silver and 1342 copper coins under the Treasure Trove Act, which are being

scrutinised at present. Among these there are some coins of the Golkonda dynasty bearing the Hijri date 1095. Mr. Khwaja Muhamad Ahmad, the Curator of the Museum, thinks that the date of these coins would justify their ascription to Abul Hassan Tana Shah, the last ruler of Golkonda. 321 punch-marked coins were also found in the state, which are intended to be published in a monograph.

INDORE STATE.

During the last three years a number of small hoards were found in the state of Indore. They were mostly of the later Mughal period or the early Victorian time.

NEW COINS FROM MALWA

Mr. Parameshvarilal Gupta of Benares has recently purchased several coins from a coin dealer from Bhelsa, which include a large lot of a new type of copper punch-marked coins, small in size and weighing about 20 grains. Smaller denominations of the punch-marked coins usually have one or two symbols only; but these coins have as many as four symbols. Some other copper coins are hardly heavier than three or four grains and remind us of the tiny currency of the Mālava republic and the silver *māshakas* weighing two or three grains. It is not quite certain whether all the coins purchased by Mr. Gupta were found in one place or hoard. If such was the case, they would attest to the transition of power from one state to the other in the first millennium of the Christian era. We have the punch-marked and cast coins of the first two or three centuries of Christian era, then Kshatrapa and Gupta coins, then the coins of the Indo-Sassanian type, then Gadhia coins, and then the Muslim coins. These coins will be published in due course in our *Journal*.

COLONIAL AND BRITISH COMMONWEALTH COINS

Mr. H. Alexander Parsons, F. G. N. S., has sent to us a communication, stressing upon the need of a work on the coins of the British Commonwealth and Colonies. He points out that the last work written on the subject was published nearly 50 years ago by J. Atkins,—*The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*; naturally a lot of new material remains to be surveyed. Mr. Parsons recognises that the subject has now become a vast one, and that the different parts of the old British Empire have now become practically independent

nations. It is therefore in the fitness of things that each Dominion should bring out a standard work dealing with its own coinage. The currencies of Australia have been adequately dealt with by A. Andrews in his valuable work, *Australasian Tokens and Coins*, 1921; but the coinage of Canada and South Africa yet remains to be properly treated. Mr. Parsons pleads that though the different books may be written by different writers for the different dominions, they should as far as possible, follow a common plan and exclude jettons, medals and purely advertising tickets, and strictly confine themselves to coins and currency tokens.

Mr. Parsons has appealed to the Numismatic Society of India to arrange for the preparation and publication of a Volume of British Indian Coins and Tokens. Having regard to the great political changes that have taken place, he points out that the present is no doubt a proper time to publish such a work.

STANDARD WORKS OF REFERENCE ON INDIAN NUMISMATICS.

I have informed Mr. Parsons that the Society has such a volume under contemplation, but it will take some time to come out, as it will be the last volume in our serfes contemplated to be published as Standard Works of Reference on Indian Numismatics. Mr. Parsons has himself observed in his letter to me, 'India is rather an exceptional country because of its non-British currencies ranging over such a long period of time, and these are so extensive that no doubt they cannot be dealt as a whole, but must necessarily be divided into separate sections. It is suggested that British Indian coins may form such a separate work.' I entirely agree with this view and that is the view of the Numismatic Society of India as well. The Society has tentatively planned six volumes on the subject and naturally the volume on the coinages of the Western Powers in India will be the last in the series to be published. Not only is this arrangement chronologically inevitable, but it is most desirable otherwise as well. The study of the Ancient Indian Coinage, for instance, is not only necessary for the students of Numismatics, but is indispensable for the students of Ancient Indian History as well. There are many dynasties and centuries of Indian history, where history has to be reconstructed almost entirely from coins. This is hardly the case with the history of any modern country. Vast material has

been accumulated since the standard works written on the subject by Cunningham, Rapson and Allan were published; it is high time that we should have fresh works summing up our present knowledge to replace the works of earlier scholars, which are not only naturally out of date but also out of print. The Numismatic Society of India, I have assured Mr. Parsons, is actively pressing forward with its arrangements for the publication of the Standard Works of Reference on Indian Numisamtics. The first two volumes dealing with Ancient India will be ready for the press in less than twelve months. One of them is complete and some of its blocks have also been prepared. It is hoped that the remaining blocks will be ready in four months' time, when the printing work can start. The first two volumes will deal with the coinages of all the republics and dynasties of ancient India, describing each type and variety and illustrating the important ones among them.

THE CATALOGUE OF THE BHARATPUR HOARD OF GUPTA GOLD COINS.

The above Catalogue is now almost complete along with its introduction and the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur, who has already paid to the Numismatic Society a donation of Rs. 5,000, has also very graciously agreed to meet the entire cost of the work and to get it published under his auspices. The work will cover more than 500 pages and will be illustrated by nearly 40 plates. It-will naturally take considerable time to print. It is proposed to publish the rare and unique coins of the hoard in this *Journal* in the next number.

REVIEWS

BHĀRATĪYA SIKKE (in Hindi): By Mr. Basudeva Upadhyaya, M.A., Bhārata Darpaṇa Grantha Mālā, Vol. 2; pp. 259; plates 19; two maps; published by Bhāratī Bhaṇḍāra, Allahabad; 1948, Price Rs. five.

There is a great dearth of handy books on Numismatics both in English and Hindi. In English the only handbook on Indian Numismatics is *Indian Coins* by Brown. This book however is rather sketchy and is now out of date. The scholarly works written by Rapson, Bhandarkar and Chakravarti confine themselves only to Ancient India. The first of these is very sketchy and the last two rather deal with problems than give a systematic account of the different series of coinages current in Ancient India. In Hindi the only book on this subject is Banerji's *Prāchīna Mudrā*; it however deals only with Ancient India and is now out of date. The publication of the present volume by Mr. Upadhyaya is thus meeting a great and long felt need.

The book is divided into fifteen chapters. The opening chapter discusses the problem of the antiquity of the coinage in the country, the importance of its knowledge both for the historian and the cultured reader, and the different ways in which coins were manufactured. The next eight chapters deal with the coinage of Ancient India, and the author gives a succinct review of the coin series issued by the Indian and foreign rulers, by monarchies and republics, by the states both in south and north India. Before dealing with the coinage of each state, the author has also given the necessary historical background. The main types of kings are described and the important ones among them are illustrated in the accompanying plates. Chapters 10 to 14 deal with the coinage of the Muslim powers and the chapter 15 describes the issues of the East India Company. The book has got a detailed contents and a good Index.

The great difficulties which the publication of a book has to encounter in the present times are reflected in the present work. The plates could not apparently be prepared by the time the book was being printed and so in the body of the book there are no specific references to the particular plate and its numbers with reference to coins illustrated in them. The difficulty can be partly overcome, as the plates are put

in the binding as near the pages which deal with the coins concerned. Some of the plates are also very defectively printed; for instance in Pl. IX, coin No. 1, which gives the unique Rhinoceros-slayer type of Kumāragupta I. has been printed in an absolutely indefensible and shabby manner.

There are also some mistakes occurring in the book, partly due the inaccuracy of language, and partly due to the haste in which the book has been brought out. Some times the language is rather sweeping. Thus on p. 140 समुद्रगुप्त ने सारे भारतवर्ष में दिग्विजय कर should have been बहुतांश भारतवर्ष में, and तीसरी सदी में नवीन साम्राज्य का should have been राज्य का (p. 140), for the Gupta state was a kingdom and not an empire in the 3rd century A. D. Sometimes it is inaccurate; इन्होंने जनता में प्रचलित ब्राह्मी लिपि का उपयोग किया (p. 25) should have been इन्होंने प्रायः जनता में &c.; for Kharoshti also figures on some coins of the Audumbars. गुप्त सिक्कोंपर उपगीति छंद में सब लेख छंदोबद्ध किये जाते (p. 25) should have been बहुतांश लेख, for some legends are in prose and some use other metres. मालव संघ के सिक्कों की नकल आन्ध्र में की गयी p. 33 should have been मालव प्रान्त के सिक्कों की नकल. On p. 145 the author should have stated उत्तर कुशाण सिक्के सदा मिश्र धातु के बनते and not कुशाण सिक्के, because the coins of the earlier Kushāṇa emperors were not adulterated.

The views expressed in some places are also untenable. Thus Pantaleon has not used the Bull on his coinage (p. 12), Kharashṭhī was introduced on the coinage not by Apollodotus, (p. 23), but much earlier than his time by Demetrius. It is difficult to understand how punch-marked coins can prove the existence of republics.

The book under review is a pioneer book of its kind and its shortcomings above indicated are far outbalanced by its merit as a work, which for the first time places before the Hindi public a comprehensive yet succinct account of the coinages of India, giving the reader not only a valuable knowledge of the subject, but also aquainting him with the complexity of the subject and the controversies in which it is still obscured. We have no doubt that it will serve the useful purpose of stimulating the interest of the public, to which numismatics as a science is hardly known. The author has admirably solved the problem of coining fresh technical terms in Hindi language. It would have been better if a glossary of these terms had been given at the end for ready reference.

A. S. ALTEKAR

NUMISMATIC LITERATURE. Editedby Sawyer McA; Mossor. Published quarterly by the American Numismatic Society, Broadway between 155th and 156th streets, New York 32. N. Y. Subscription price 1 doller per year postage paid. Single current issue 35 cents each.

During the period of over half a century from 1880 to the opening of the second war, there was being published in Germany a numismatic periodical entitled *Numimatesches Literatur-Blatt*. The purpose of that journal was to supply a single journal of reference for the use of librarians, students of numismatics and scholars interested in the progress of the science. For the last few years, however, since the cessation of the German publication, there was a keen necessity felt for such a publication. Now the American Numismatic Society has undertaken the publication of the Quarterly under review to fill up this lacuna. It would record the literature of numismatics and would afford a clearing house for numismatic publications from all over the world. The Society deserves our thanks for undertaking such a useful publication.

The first issue was published in October last year and we have now three issues before us. The first number is devoted to the listing, with few comments, of numismatic books, pamphlets, catalogues and articles which have appeared in the non-numismatic periodicals during the period from 1940 to 1945. The entries are arranged only under broad headings. European coinage is classified into Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Visigothic, Medieval and Modern. Islamic, Indian, Far East, United States, Latin American are other headings of classification. Medals, paper money, mint reports, and periodicals are separately listed. The second and third issues give the bibliography of the works published during the last three years with their brief but adequate reviews. There are also sections devoted to cleaning of coins, odd and curious money, decorations and tokens. These issues have also listed reviews of the numismatic books and papers which have appeared in various periodicals. Obituaries of numismatic scholars, which have appeared in periodicals, are also included in a separate section.

The amount of labour in preparing and publishing such an exhaustive list deserves our appreciation. But we regret to note that proper attention has not been given to Indian numismatics. While the second and third numbers have no entry about Indian coins, the first issue has only four entries on the subject. Of them three are from non-Indian journals and

the fourth concerns a book, the contents of which can hardly come under the purview of numismatics. No less than two to three dozens of articles have appeared in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* during this period. Among the obituary list, the name of Dr. Bhattashali is absent, though it is published in the *J.N.S.I.*, which is listed among the periodicals.

We hope that the editor would take adequate notice of Indian numismatics in future and would seek the cooperation of Indian scholars and the Numismatic Society of India to make the journal useful.

P. L. Gupta.

OBITUARY

Sir Richard Burn, M. A., Kt., C. S. I., F. R. A. S. B.

The death of Sir Richard Burn, M. A., Kt., C. S. I., F. R. A. S. B., at his residence in Oxford in July 1947, will be deeply mourned by numismatists in England and India. It has given me a rude shock, because shortly before his demise he wrote to me about his failing eyesight. He was almost in normal health in July and died in sleep. It is, however, a great satisfaction that he died full of years and honours.

Mr. Burn came out to India in 1891 as a member of the Indian Civil Service. By his talents he made his mark and distinguished himself as an able officer of versatile genius. He was history personified. He had a special taste and yearning for numismatics. He formed a Coin-Committee in the United Provinces with a view to deal effectively with the coin hoards discovered in various districts of the Province. The first members of this committee were V. A. Smith, Dr. Hoey, Major Vost and Mr. Burn himself. The latter was the secretary of the committee, and its first report for 1899-1900 is in his own handwriting. His report on 491 silver coins found in Naini Tal in 1899 is very valuable With the exception of a short break in 1907-9 he remained Secretary of the Coin-Committee upto 1911-12, when he was succeeded by Mr. W. E. M. Campbell, I. C. S. During his secretaryship of the Coin-Committee he disposed of a number of treasure trove finds and contributed valuable articles for publication in the *Numismatic Supplements* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the *Numismatic Chronicle* of Great Britain and Ireland and other periodicals. These papers or memoirs are masterly pieces of scholarly production and are very well illustrated.

Particular attention may be drawn to his papers on the list of Mints of the Mogul Coins (1904), the coins of Maukharis and kings of Thaneswar and the Mirzapur hoard of Gupta coins. His scholarship was characterised by minuteness, accuracy and coordination. His researches have illuminated many a dark corner of the ancient and mediæval history of India.

Like Prinsep, Cunningham, Smith and Rodger, Burn was a giant of the numismatic world. He was courteous and full of enthusiasm and energy. I had the proud pri-

vilege of meeting him very often. I remember, even in parties at Government House, he would show or talk of some remarkable coins. He was always ready to assist young scholars in their efforts to master history and numismatics.

The Numismatic Society of India owes him a particularly heavy debt. The Society was founded at his initiative at Allahabad in 1910. He was one of its founder members. He was a prominent figure at the second meeting of the Society held on 9th December 1911 at Delhi in the camp of the Lt. Governor of the United Provinces at the time of the Coronation Darbar.

He had the proud previlege of being elected the president of the Numismatic Society for three times, in the years 1916, 1917 and 1919. In 1922 he presided a fourth time in the absence of Prof. S. H. Hodiwala, the president-elect. His presidential addresses showed a masterly survey of the work done by members and constructive suggestions for the pursuit of numismatic research in fruitful channels. He had an abiding and life-long interest in the welfare of the Society and never spared himself to promote its interests.

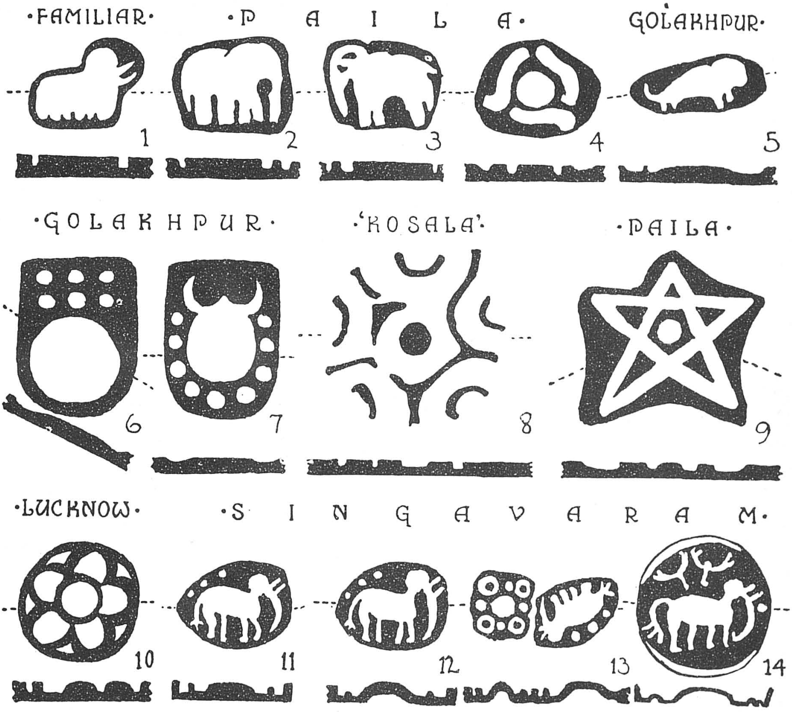
In fact he laid the foundation of the Society so well and truly that its superstructure has not only continued to endure so far, but has grown from strength to strength. His interest did not wag with his departure from India.

He continued to be its member and contributed occasionally to its *Journal* in spite of his failing eye sight. Only as recently as 1946, he contributed a paper on the coinage bearing the names of Indian queens.

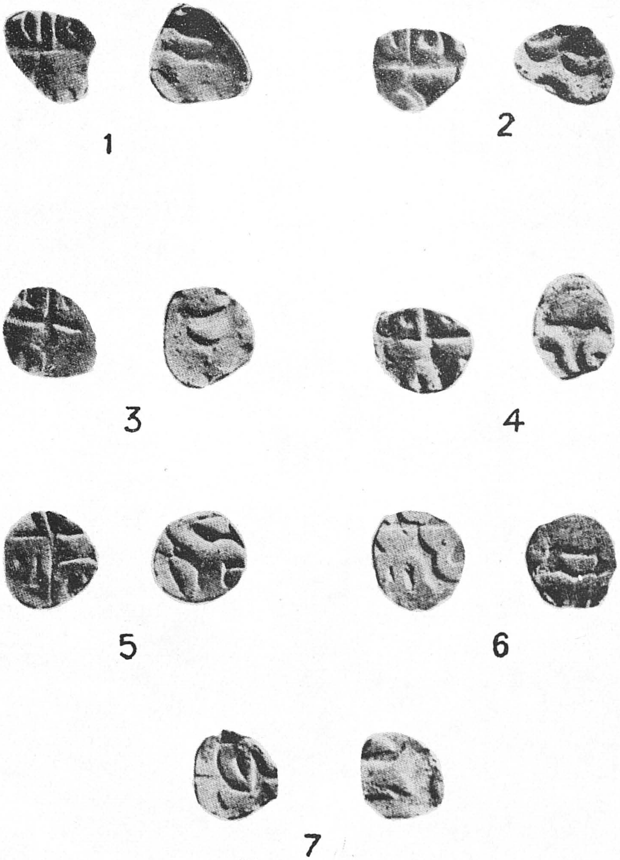
Sir Richard Burn was intimately connected with the U. P. Historical Society ever since its foundation in 1917. When he was Chief Secretary to Government, he contributed a paper to this Journal of the Society in 1922 on an inscribed picture of Emperor Farukh Siyar published after his retirement in 1926. He was actively connected with the editing of Vol. II of the Cambridge History of India, which alas, has not yet been published.

In his death the world of historical studies has lost a valuable and competent authority and the Numismatic Society of India a trusted and able guide and well-wisher.

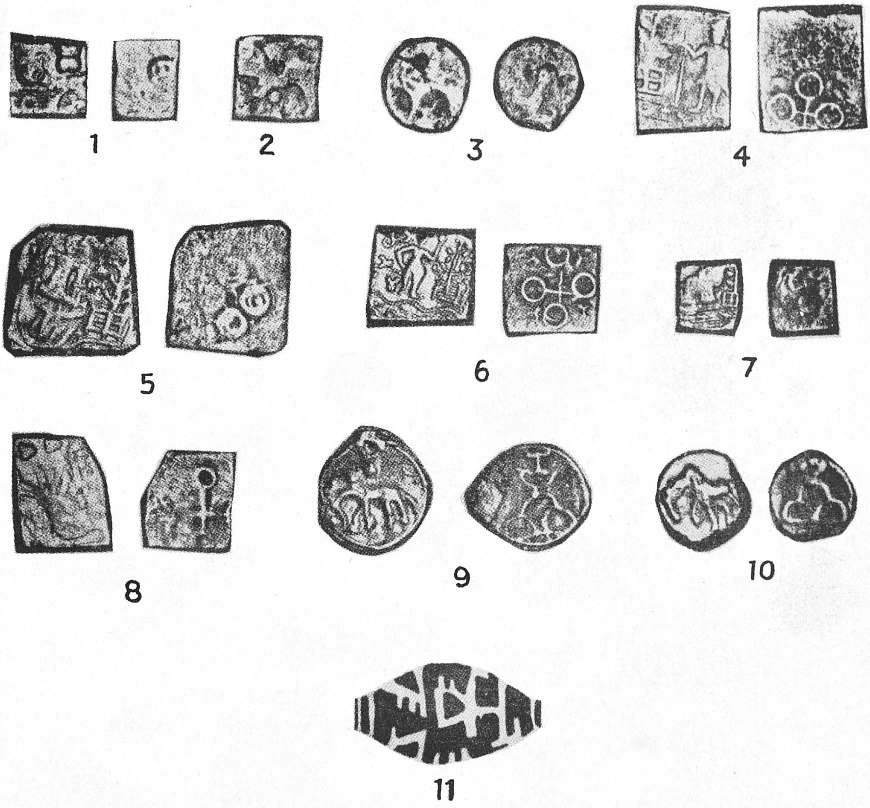
PRAYAG DAYAL.



SOME SYMBOLS ON PUNCH-MARKED COINS.



DRAMMAS OF VINĀYAKAPALA.

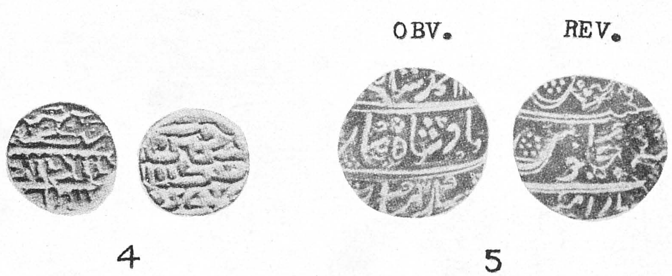


COINS FROM KASARWAD AND A BEAD.

A

SRI-PRATĀPA COINS.

B



COINS: ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL.